

SYLLABIOF B.A. PROGRAMME IN POLITICAL SCIENCE (CBCS)

GUIDE TO

SEMESTER-4

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

UNDER CHOICE BASED CREDIT SYSTEM (CBCS)

CBCS NEW SYLLABUS

TEXTUAL, DESCRIPTIVE, SHORT OBJECTIVE, MULTIPLE
CHOICE QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

PROBABLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
FOR THE FINAL EXAMINATION

**UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, KALYANI, WB STATE
UNIVERSITY, BURDWAN UNIVERSITY, VIDYASAGAR**

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Final Draft BA (General)-CBCS Syllabus in
Political Science, 2018

Core Courses* (4 courses provided). **Discipline-specific
Elective** (4 courses provided); **Skill
Enhancement** (4 courses provided).

[Students will also have to take courses from other subject/s]
*Core Courses mentioned hereunder are to be treated as the

Generic Elective Courses of students pursuing
Honours in a subject *other than Political Science*.

◆ Each course carries 80 marks— theoretical and tutorial
(plus 10 marks each for Attendance and
Internal Assessment).

◆ 6 credit course : Minimum 30 classes for Theory and 15
contact hours for Tutorial per module. 2 credit
course: 30 teaching/lecture hours in total.

◆ Core, DSE (and GE) Course: 6 credits (5 Theoretical + 1
Tutorial-related).

◆ Skill Enhancement/Skill-based Courses: 2 credits (no
Tutorial).

^End Semester Assessment— 65 marks for theoretical
segment: 50 marks for subjective/descriptive questions + 15
marks for the category of 1 mark-questions. Question Pattern
for subjective/descriptive segment of 50 marks: 2 questions
(within 100 words; one from each module) out of 4 ($10 \times 2 = 20$) +
2 questions (within 500 words; one from each module) out of 4
($15 \times 2 = 30$). >> For Skill Enhancement Courses the last
component would carry 6 questions— 15 marks each— out of
which 3 (at least one from each module) to be attempted because
such courses have no Tutorial.

15 marks for tutorial-related segments as suggested below
(any one item from each mode):

Any one of the following modes: (i) Written mode: upto 1000
words for one Term Paper/upto 500 words for each of the two
Term Papers/ equivalent Book Review/equivalent
Comprehension/equivalent Quotation or Excerpt Elaboration. (ii)
Presentation Mode: Report Presentation/Poster Presentation/
Field work— based on syllabus-related and/or current topics (May
be done in groups)[The modes and themes and/or topics are be
decided by the concerned faculty of respective colleges.]

◆ **Core Courses in Semesters I-IV; Discipline-specific courses in Semesters V and VI; Skill Enhancement courses in Semesters III-VI.**

IMPORTANT NOTES:

t The Readings provided below (except Bengali books) include those of the UGC Model CBCS Syllabus in

Political Science. For Course Objectives and references it is advised that the UGC model CBCS syllabus*

concerning relevant courses and topics be provided due importance and primarily consulted.

*BA General https://www.ugc.ac.in/pdfnews/0693504_BA-with-Pol-Science-.pdf

◆ Bengali books are not necessarily substitutes, but supplementary to the English books.

◆ The format is strictly subject to the parameters of the Common Structural Format of the University.

General (Political Science) Courses Core:

- ◆ Introduction to Political Theory
- ◆ Comparative Government and Politics
- ◆ Government and Politics in India
- ◆ International Relations

DSE:

- ◆ Public Administration
- ◆ Indian Foreign Policy
- ◆ Feminism: Theory and Practice
- ◆ Human Rights: Theory and Indian Context

SEC:

- ◆ Legal Literacy
- ◆ Elementary Dimensions of Research
- ◆ Understanding the Legal System
- ◆ Basic Research Methods

University of Calcutta
BA (General)-CBCS Syllabus in
Political Science

FOURTH SEMESTER

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Code: PLS-G-CC-4-4-TH+TU

MODULE - I

1. International Relations as a field of study. Approaches:
 - (a) Classical Realism (Hans Morgenthau) and Neo-Realism (Kenneth Waltz)
 - (b) Neo-Liberalism: Complex Interdependence (Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye)
 - (c) Structural Approaches: World Systems Approach (Immanuel Wallerstein) and Dependency School (Andre Gunder Frank)
 - (d) Feminist Perspective (J. Ann Tickner)
2. Cold War:
 - (a) Second World War & Origins of Cold War;
 - (b) Phases of Cold War: First Cold War; Rise and Fall of Detente Second Cold War.

MODULE - II

3. End of Cold War and Collapse of the Soviet Union
 - (b) Post Cold- War Era and Emerging Centers of Power (European Union, China, Russia and Japan)
4. India's Foreign Policy
 - (a) Basic Determinants (Historical, Geo-Political, Economic, Domestic and Strategic);
 - (b) India's Policy of Non-Alignment;
 - (c) India as emerging Power

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MODULE - I

CHAPTER-1

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A FIELD OF STUDY. APPROACHES :

- (a) Classical Realism (Hans Morgenthau) and Neo-Realism (Kenneth Waltz)
- (b) Neo-Liberalism: Complex Interdependence (Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye)
- (c) Structural Approaches: World Systems Approach (Immanuel Wallerstein) and Dependency School (Andre Gunder Frank)
- (d) Feminist Perspective (J. Ann Tickner)

Page : 9-34

CHAPTER-2

COLD WAR

- (a) Second World War & Origins of Cold War;
- (b) Phases of Cold War : First Cold War; Rise and Fall of Detente Second Cold War.

Page : 35-58

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MODULE - II

CHAPTER-3

END OF COLD WAR AND COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

- (b) Post Cold- War Era and Emerging Centers of Power (European Union, China, Russia and Japan)

Page : 59-86

CHAPTER-4

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

- (a) Basic Determinants (Historical, Geo-Political, Economic, Domestic and Strategic);
- (b) India's Policy of Non-Alignment;
- (c) India as emerging Power

Page : 87-103

PROBABLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR THE FINAL EXAMINATION

Page : 105-216

MODULE - I



1

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A FIELD OF STUDY : APPROACHES

- (a) Classical Realism (Hans Morgenthau) and Neo-Realism (Kenneth Waltz)
- (b) Neo-Liberalism: Complex Interdependence (Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye)
- (c) Structural Approaches: World Systems Approach (Immanuel Wallerstein) and Dependency School (Andre Gunder Frank)
- (d) Feminist Perspective (J. Ann Tickner)

A. LONG QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS EACH QUESTION CARRIES 15 MARKS

Q. 1. Discuss the origin and growth of International Relations as a discipline.

Ans. The present world community is divided into a number of nation-states, each possessing a system of its own. The actions of one state have a deep impact on the interest of others. Therefore, it has become necessary that there should be a proper relationship between the states.

The states of ancient and medieval times mostly established relations with the states of the same region, and they were regional relations. As a result of the Renaissance and Reformation, the territorial states emerged and with the peace treaty Westphalia of 1648, the tradition of international relations between states was set up, which continues to this day. The Treaty of Westphalia was a land mark in the international relations. As a result of this, many European states tried to seek peace through their diplomatic representatives. The Treaty

of Westphalia attempted not only to resolve disputes between states through mediation, but also revived many pacts violated and to give them a statutory form and this opened a new chapter in international relations.

In the initial stages, international relations was treated as a study of international diplomatic history, law and philosophy. It implies a study of the contemporary foreign affairs as conditioned by the happenings of the past, with a view to find out the shortcomings of the previous statesmen. The study was mainly based on facts finding and no deductions of any universal principles were made which could help in the understanding of present or future of international relations. The outbreak of First World War focussed attention on the inadequacy of diplomatic history approach. The Scholars of current events approach have stressed only the study of the present without much reference to the past. No attempt was made to relate the post-war political problems with comparable problems of the past. The result was that no well conceived theory could emerge by which the significance of the current events could be understood.

With the establishment of the League of Nations, the frontier of the study of the international relations was further widened. An effort was made to understand interstate relations by studying the behaviour of states in the various international organisations and the control exercised by the international organisations over the sovereign states. It stressed the institutionalisation of international relations through law and organisation. After the Second World War, the field of international relations was further widened. The study of war and its strategy are also included in the international relations. The scholars consider the struggle for power, as reality in international politics. They claimed that the purpose of the study of world issues was to understand them in the real sense through theoretical investigation. The concern of international relations now is threefold—motivating factors of foreign politics everywhere, techniques of the conduct of foreign policies, and mode of resolution of international conflicts. In this stage, the emphasis was given to the forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of the states. Again, the advances in the field of psychology made certain people study international relations through personality

and backward analysis. They started a study of the behaviour of leaders, groups as well as the role of the public opinion. The impact of behavioural revolution in international relations forced for the building up theories and models which can explain with a considerable degree of accuracy the patterns of behaviour of political units and systems. Naturally, the scholars in international relations also developed tools and techniques of a scientific analysis.

So, the study of international relations has made a significant progress from stage to stage. At present, the scope of international relations include the study of incompatible interests of the sovereign states that generate conflict, national interests and goals of sovereign states. After the Second World War, the field of international relations further widened, and the study of military science, and regional areas was also included. The psychological study through personality and background analysis also gained prominence. Thus the present international relations have become very extensive.

Q. 2. Explain the meaning and nature of International Relations.

Ans. The present-day world is divided into a number of states, each possessing a system of its own. The activities of one state have a deep impact on the interests of others. Thus, it is necessary that there should be a proper relationship between the nation-states. And the international relations resolve disputes between the states through mediation and control the external policies and powers of the states.

The term "international relations" may be defined in two senses-narrow and wide. In the narrower sense; the international relations are official relations conducted by the authorised leaders of the states only. On the otherhand, the international relations, in the wider sense, are all intercourse among the states and movements of people, goods, ideas etc. across the national frontiers. It lays stress on the processes by which the states adjust their national interests to those of other states. It is said that the international relation is concerned with the actions which affect the external policies and powers of the basic units in which the world is divided. And lastly, international relations is the interaction of state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships.

Nature :- The complexities of international relations make simple solutions and trustworthy prophecies impossible. In every events, the different forces and motivations are at work according to the prevailing circumstances, and it is very difficult to deduce generalisations from them which could be made applicable to future situations. In this sense, international relations is a field extraordinarily difficult for science to enter. International relations can at best be considered as a social science. It is said that formulae and principles of universal applicability have been developed in international relations. For example, the realisation on the part of the international actors about the usefulness of war is a generalisation of universal applicability. It is why efforts are being made to discard war as an instrument of national policy. It is on the basis of the scientific generalisation that a new era of peaceful co-existence appears to be in sight though still far off. Personal diplomacy narrows down the conflicts by settling the differences bilaterally and through peaceful means.

However, the international relations as a subject of study is considered by some writers as a poor relation of political science and history; it is still far from being a well-organised discipline. It lacks clear cut conceptional framework and a systematic body of applicable discipline. It has been remarked that from the academic point of view, the international relations is clearly not a subject in the ordinary sense of the word. It does not provide a single coherent body of teaching material. It is not a single subject but a bundle of subjects.

Q. 3. Discuss the scope of International Relations.

Ans. International relations embraces all human behaviour originating on one side of a state boundary and affecting human behaviour on the otherside of the boundary. International relations is the interaction of the state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships.

The scope of international relations is wide. It is concerned with the study of totality of relations of only people and groups in the world society. It covers all aspects of relations between the countries and people of political or non-political, peaceful or warlike, legal or cultural, economic or geographic. Again, some consider the international relations as an action on the part of a group-state or government-direct towards another group which react to it. Further, the international relations is a study of

both co-operative and oppositional relations among the states. After the second world war, the scope of international relations has been widened. Since the foreign policy and military power are closely related, the study of war and its strategy are also included in the international relations. The scholars consider the struggle for power as reality in international politics. To them, it is an end and not a means. They claim that the purpose of the study of the world issues is to understand them in the real sense through theoretical investigation. This has to be done in the context of the present day world; social and economic order rather in isolation. The concern of international relation now is threefold :-

- (a) motivating factors of foreign policies everywhere,
- (b) techniques of the conduct of foreign policies, and
- (c) mode of resolution of international conflicts. Here, the emphasis is given to the forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of nation-states.

Thus the scope of international relations has made a significant progress. At present, the international relations include the study of incompatible interests of the sovereign state that generate conflicts, national interests, and goals of sovereign states which they pursue with the help of power, the effectiveness of national power in world politics, the diplomatic history; foreign policies of the sovereign states; the instruments such as diplomacy, international trade, economic and military assistance through which the sovereign states try to achieve their national goals; nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism, balance of power, international law and international organisations, control and check the behaviour of the actors of international relations. After the Second World War, the field of international relations is further widened, and the study of military science, and regional areas are also included. The psychological study through personality and background analysis has also gained prominence. Thus the present international relations have become extensive.

In short, the study of international relations strengthens faith in problems of collective security and disarmament. It provides strategy for the third world countries to adopt for the development of their nations. And lastly, the scope of international relations also provides for universal brotherhood

which is a must for the development of the human race among the world community.

Q. 4. Discuss the classical Realist Approach to the study of International Relations.

Ans. Approaches is an analytical tool for understanding, explaining, and making predictions about a given subject matter. It is necessary because it acts as a guiding principle to systematically structure our observations. Approaches in IR attempt to provide a conceptual framework that would help to analyse properly different aspects of the discipline.

Classical Realism : The tradition of Realism is rooted in the writings of many ancient scholars. The classical realists believed that there was no permanent solution to the problems of national and international politics. Greek historian **Thucydides** is perhaps the oldest writer of this theory. He focused upon the conflicts and competitions among the Greek-city-states. He explained that the states were unequal in terms of power. He said that 'the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept.' Another classical theorists **Niccolo Machiavelli** urged rulers to be shrened and ruthless. According to him, the survival of a state, preservation of its territorial integrity and political independence and the welfare of its people depended largely on the manipulative powers of the ruler. **Thomas Hobbes** the English political philosopher developed the theory of classical realism. He believed that even if war was the resort for the resolution of an international conflict such conflicts could be modarated through the enforcement of an international law. So an international law had to be framed by the sovereign states collectively and its strict adherence was necessary for the states to survive and prosper. The main features of traditional classical realism are :

- Classical realists were of the opinion that people lived in a condition of total insecurity and lawlessness. This situation was altered by a powerful sovereign state with a strong government.

- The ruler needs to be powerful to resolve conflicts in politics. Classical realists emphasized the primary value of power in state craft.

After the ending of the First World War international politics was enriched by the power politics. In this context power was again reflected and reinforced in the writings of new. Some

classical realists of the twentieth century, such as were E. H. Carr and Hans. J. Morgenthau. E. H. Carr's book 'The Twenty Years Crisis' (1939) provided a criticism of the liberal kind of 'utopian' politics. According to him conflicts between states were inevitable in international politics, because there was no international regulatory authority to curb conflicts and war. Carr also believed that 'power' not 'morality' would be the guiding force in international politics.

Morgenthau's realist theory rests upon the assumption that people are by nature self interested and power hungry. The element of power can secure an individual's position in the society, and can place him in an advantageous position in comparison to others. Morgenthau believed that 'politics is a struggle for power.' To understand his version of realism it is necessary to know his '*six principles of political realism*' as developed in 'politics among Nations'. These principles are as follows :

(1) The law of politics is rooted in human nature which is self-seeking, self-interested and power-loving.

(2) Politics is an autonomous sphere of activity, and does not depend on economics. The concepts of power and interest can make politics independent of other disciplines.

(3) A state's interests are not fixed; they are changeable depending on time and space. This reality must be recognized in international politics.

(4) Ethics in international politics is political or situational ethics, and therefore sharply opposed to private morality.

(5) Political realism believes that aspirations of a particular state cannot become the governing law of the universe.

(6) State craft is a sober and uninspiring activity that involves a profound awareness of human limitations. Human nature as it is should be considered in international politics, rather than the human nature as it should be.

The Realist approach is criticised by the Liberals and the Feminists for their narrow and partial views. This theory expressed that power seems to be the only important element in IR. It reduces other aspects of politics such as co-operation, people's freedom, nature of the government, values and beliefs of the people, and motivation of the leaders to a negligible level. Critics also argue that realism is a narrowly focused theory.

Despite criticisms by many schools of thought in IR, realism continues to be an important theory in the discipline because of its emphasis on power and the significance of the state in international politics. Realism will continue to remain relevant as long as the states pursue power and remain the pivotal actors in world politics.

Q. 5. Discuss the 'Neo-Realist' Approach to the study of IR.

Ans. 'Neo Realism' emerged as an approach to the study of IR in the decade of '70's. The main theorists are Kenneth Waltz, T. Schelling, S. Krasner, R. Gilpin etc. Kenneth Waltz published his important work, 'Theory of International Politics' written in 1979. He argued that to study IR one should begin with the system—the state or other political system and ultimately come down to the individual actors. This is in opposition to the traditional realists' approach, whose basic premise was the individual human nature. Kenneth Waltz places great importances on the structure of the system, on its interacting units and on the changes occurring within the system. Waltz 'Neo-Realist' systems theory' emphasis on scientific analysis. According to Waltz all states are similar in their functional aspects, as all perform similar tasks such as promoting citizen's welfare, collecting taxes, formulating foreign policies and maintaining internal peace.

Features of the theory :

- In the contemporary world, the 'threat' of war is more fearsome than actual war.
- For the Neo-Realists, the structure of the system and its relative distribution of power are the focal points of analysis.
- States which are more 'capable' than others would control international politics.
- Neo-Realists are sceptical about the impact of globalization throughout the world.
- The Neo-Liberal claim that economic interdependence of the world has made the nation-state a minor player in international affairs is not tenable.
- The Neo-Liberal claim that only free market economy can achieve sustained growth is not true.
- The theory is anti-statism, there is no serious rival to challenge and replace the state in IR.

Neo-realism was criticized in several manners

- The theory fails to assess the relative importance of cultural forces in world order.
- Neo-realism could not visualize that states might be transcended by new forms of political communities in response to new identities and loyalties.
- Linklater observes that neo-realism fails to visualize a statecraft which transcends the calculus of power and control.
- Cox points out that neo-realism reduces international relations to great power management for preserving a political order that safeguards the powerful.

Despite all criticism, neo-realist approach has some contribution to the study of IR. Many contemporary international events testify realist theory. The cold-war nurtured neo-realists assumptions about power-politics. Neo-realist theory power the way to formulation of grand theory.

Q. 6. Discuss the Liberal traditions in International Relations.

Ans. International relations is concerned with the actions which affect the external policies and powers of the basic units in which the world is divided. International relations is the interactions of state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships. The Liberal theory is the classical approach to the study of international relations.

With the establishment of the League of Nations, the frontier of the study of international relations was widened, and the study of international institutions was also included in it. An effort was made to understand inter-states relations by studying the behaviour of states in the various international institutions and the control exercised by the international organisations over the sovereign states. It stressed the institutionalisation of international relations through law and organisation, and was inspired by the belief that the international community would be able to create institutions and thereby international problems would be automatically solved.

Thus it is the liberal approach followed in between two world wars. It regards the power politics as the passing phase of history. According to the liberal view, a society or nation is formed due to evolution. In the evolution, there may be good or bad. The essence of the liberal theory is that there should be

means to give up the bad and to foster the good. It is said that liberalism is the basis of international relations. It visualises a world order free from war, inequality, and tyranny. The new order will be marked by constant progress in human welfare brought about by the use of reason, education, and science. Thus the liberal theory has visualised a system free from power politics, immorality, and violence. It is because of this optimism that the Liberalists regard the power struggle as nothing but the passing phase of history. The liberal view proceeds with the assumption that the interests of different nations are likely to be adjusted in the larger interests of mankind as a whole. But the liberal theory is ambiguous and it runs short of factual position. The nations do not behave as they are expected basing on moral principles. They consider the national interests.

Q. 7. Discuss the Neo-liberal theory of IR.

Ans. Neo-liberal theory of IR emerged as a significant theory of IR. Neo-liberal thinkers in IR, emerged after the triumph of the 'New Right' in Britain and the US during the late 70's and 80's. Neo-liberal thinkers like C.B. Macpherson, T. Friedman, Francis Fukuyama and Robert K. Ohmac They argued in different ways against the Keynesian philosophy of state intervention in economic life. In an era of globalization neo-liberal theorists in IR favoured a free play of economic forces and a minimal role for the state economic life. The theory developed after the collapsed of USSR. The theory also developed itself under the roof top of globalization and challenged the boundaries of state sovereignty.

Robert Keohane is the leading exponent of neo-liberal theory. He underlines the expanding activities of transnational activities of the organizations. Still, state actors dominate world politics and that perpetuates anarchy within international system. Keohane aspires to mitigate international anarchy through international organizations and regimes. Integration at the regional and international levels will promote inter-state co-operation. Neo-liberal institutionalists uphold the theory of absolute gains rather than relative gains, emerging from international cooperation.

Basic features are as follows :

- (1) The theory is marked by free trade and globalization.
- (2) Minimum state intervention in economic life.

- (3) To remove state control on economic life.
- (4) Free trade can best thrive in a democratic political system as it secures human rights and basic freedoms of people.
- (5) Dis-integration of Soviet Union and the socialist block marked the triumph of free market economy.
- (6) In the twenty-first century, cooperation and interdependence of states are possible through globalization.

Q. 8. Express the idea of the World system theory to the study of IR.

Ans. The World system theory develops a serious debate in the study of IR. This theory is highly influenced by the Marxist theory. Immanuel Waller Stein and John Galtung presented basic concepts of world system theory. The theory assumes that rules and logic of global capitalism structure and manipulate the world system. Wallerstein describes the prevailing world system as capitalist world economy and capitalism as a global phenomenon. The modern state system emerged as political instrument of capitalist bourgeoisie. The capitalist world economy is governed by certain specific rules and codes and it is based on international division of labour. International division of labour reinforces class divisions in the world. The theory divides the world into two categories-core and periphery. The capitalist of the core region exploit the periphery regions.

Wallerstein asserts that numerous producers of numerous countries are associated with capitalist production system. Some producers are associated with monopolistic production. The relations between core and periphery amount to relations between high profit-making and low-profit earning activities. Wallerstein has referred to semi-peripheral zone. This zone plays an intermediate role within world system representing certain features of the core zone and other elements of the periphery zone.

Immanuel Wallerstein explains various factors that led to concentration of core activities in few regions and dispersion of peripheral activities in other regions. Many peripheral zones display mixture of core activities and peripheral activities. Wallerstein comments that the modern world system is based on three phenomenous.

- A relatively stable inter-state system;
- A highly profitable world production system;
- Social cohesion of the sovereign states.

♦ The basic features of the world system theory are as follows :

- Influenced by Marxism and its idea of accumulation of wealth.
- Class divisions have assumed a regional character in the post colonial world.
- The world is divided into 'core' and 'periphery' regions a system in which the rich capitalist core regions dominate over the poor periphery, mainly the third world regions.
- Semi-periphery is not as advanced as the core, but ahead of the periphery in terms of wealth accumulation.
- There may be 'core' and 'periphery' within the 'core' and 'periphery' regions; the new class struggle would involve the core and the 'periphery'.
- 'Enclave Economy' and national capitalists are responsible for under development in the third world region.

The theory has been criticized in several manners :

- Wallerstein's historical analysis has been criticized as controversial.
- His concept of world system is subject to sharp criticisms.
- This theory fails to explain internal structure operating within the capitalist system.
- The theory fails to explain the hegemonic behaviour of former Soviet Union and China's policies.
- Wallerstein's views about semi-peripheral zone is debatable.
- According to Robert Cox, this theory fails to offer precise explanation about the structural transformation of world system.
- Still, the theory exposes the process and mechanisms of neo-colonial exploitation. Prof. Jayantanuj Bandopadhyay acknowledges certain positive contributions of world system theory.
- World system theory highlights that inter-state system is hierarchically structured and governed by a private oligarchy of strong states.

- It analyses causes of subordination and marginalization of poor developing states by big hegemonic power.

Q. 9. Explain Dependency Approach to the study of IR.

Ans. Scholars of IR explained that the Dependency theory has developed in the light of Marxist theory. The Dependency theory explain the conditions of third world countries. The

dependency theory come closer to the world system theory. The theory mostly developed by Latin American scholars like Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Falatto, puts forward the arguments that accumulation of capital in a third world country cannot sustain itself internally. Andre Gunder Frank developed this theory. He was a left wing economist and political activist who wrote widely in the fields of economics, social and political history development studies and international relations. His famous work is **the development of under development** or 'dependency theory'. He observed the inequality of the world under 1970's and 1980's.

Frank's main argument was that in our interconnected globalised world, some countries are winners, while others are losers. According to this theory the people of less-developed countries are not to blame for the failure of their societies to develop. He suggested that Western nations deliberately failed to develop these countries. He argued that historically 'core' nations such as the USA and the UK, who made up the elite 'metropolis', exploited peripheral nations by keeping them as satellites in a state of dependency and under development. Developed nations become wealthy by exploiting the poorest nations and using them as a source of cheap raw materials and labour. He claimed that this exploitative relationship was evident throughout the course of history and was maintained into the twentieth century through western countries dominations of international trade, the emergence of large multinational companies and the reliance of less-developed countries on Western aid.

Frank's ideas about under development originated in his study of history, which he regarded as essential to understanding development **issues**. He criticised modernisation theorists, who argue that development happens as countries move from being traditional to modern economics and as they take on the values and practices of the developed countries. He argued that such theories of development failed to take account of how the capitalist system was a cause of underdevelopment, not a solution. He claimed that underdeveloped countries were simply 'behind' the developed world and needed to catch up. He said that where underdeveloped countries were assumed to be at a stage of history that developed countries had passed through

long ago, was ignorant. He claimed that this simplistic view failed to take account of the impact on underdeveloped countries of their relations with developed countries who colonised them throughout history.

Frank challenged the assumption that the under development of a country was due to its own economic, political, social and cultural structures and that the only way to develop such a country was 'diffuse' capital, structures, systems, even values, from a developed, capitalist hub or 'metropole' to replace those that existed in the underdeveloped country. Frank also rejected the 'dual' society theory which related to countries where inequality of income or differences in culture were evident. According to this theory one part of society was viewed as relatively progressive, modern and developed while the other part was more isolated, rural or primitive. The developed part was benefited by the influence of capitalism, while the other part still needed to have the benefits of capitalism diffused to it.

♦ Frank based his ideas on a close study of the effects of capitalism in history. He sets up an example of Latin America in the 60s. Frank examined that the city was conquered by Spain and Portugal in the 16th century. Frank claimed that the city's function at this time was to economically dominate the indigenous population lived in surrounding rural communities. He said that the city was metropole that dominated the satellites around it. These metropolises were themselves country. Frank said that over the course of history, this chain of exploitation in the form of a metropolis-satellite relationship has been maintained, so that resources continued to be taken from satellites and fed back to the dominant metropolis. He said that his study of the history of countries like Chile and Brazil backed up this theory, where the chain of 'satellite underdevelopment' was evident in these countries relationship with Europe and within their own domestic economies where the 'satellite metropolis' relationship existed at various levels.

Frank's pointed out three major claims.

1. While the major industrialised nations are not satellite to any other power, cities and countries in the under developed world were limited by their satellite status and were under the domination of the developed world economies.

2. Satellites experienced their greatest economic development at times in history when their ties to the metropolis were weakest. Frank pointed out that Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico were strongest during the two world wars due to the industrial development and Western were the weakest part between the wars.

3. Those regions that were seen as most under-developed and economically backward in the twentieth century had the closest ties to the developed world in the past.

Criticism :

Critics of the dependency theory argue that this dependency is exaggerated. They also say that the theory focuses too much on economic factors and does not take into consideration the country's political, social, cultural and environmental factors that might be contributing to underdevelopment. Critics also argue that this theory is very much unrealistic.

Q. 10. Discuss the Feminist approach to the study of IR.

Ans. Feminist theories of IR try to focus on the historical role of women in global affairs. As a social theory feminism is not quite new, Feminist theories of IR have mainly focused after the 1980's. Feminism has many voices within the discipline. Sometimes Feminism has influenced by Marxism has highlighted the exploitation of women in society, post modern Feminists have focused more on gender. These theories have pointed out that the history and structure of and knowledge about IR are all gendered. According to Feminist theorists of IR, these issues reflect a masculine way of thinking. For instance, the Realist idea of military security of nations is an international order based. On anarchy is a masculine projection that conceals the existence of gender hierarchy in international politics. Feminist IR theorists argue that although wars have been largely caused and fought by men, women form the majority of civil casualties. Besides women are providers of various support services during war and militarization.

Feminist scholars of IR have also shown how the formation of the state and the international society of states have helped the construction of gender differences through divisions such as private/public—state/society and domestic/international. The division of private and public spheres within a state has been created by a patriarchal mind set which focused women to household work that remain largely unnoticed, and unpaid.

Basic features of this theory are :

1. Feminism in IR points out that the history and structure of, and knowledge about, IR are all gendered.
2. Postmodern Feminists have focused more on gender, and on how divisions between the masculine and the feminine constitute a hierarchy of power by which the former subordinates the latter.
3. Major issues in IR, such as war, peace, security, power, co-operation, diplomacy, foreign policy, propaganda and military, reflected a masculine way of thinking.
4. The Realist concern for security tries to seek protection from an outside threat with a view to ensure protection of a domestic jurisdiction that fixes continuous subordination of women.
5. Feminist IR theorists argue that although wars have been largely caused and fought by men, women form the majority of civil casualties.
6. Feminist scholars of IR have shown how the formation of the state and the international society of states have helped the construction of gender differences through divisions such as private/public-state/society and domestic/international.
7. Globalization has not been able to alter the plight of women.
8. Gender-sensitive analysis of international politics may bring the issue of gender inequality into focus.

Main exponents of this theory are C. Enloe, V.S. Peterson, A.S. Runyan, S. Sassen, J. Pettman and J. True. Feminism in International relations does not encourage gender-sensitive research and analysis. Feminist perspectives of IR may help the discipline to search for new ideas, conceptions and theories.

B. SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M-10

Q. 1. Explain the meaning of International Relations.

Ans. The term "international relations" may be defined in two senses. In the narrower sense, the international relations are official relations conducted by the authorised leaders of the State only. On the other hand, the international relations, in the wider sense, are all intercourse among the States and movements of the people, goods, ideas etc. Across the national

frontiers, it lays stress on the processes by which the states adjust their national interests to those of other states. In short, the international relations is the interaction of state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships.

Q. 2. Discuss the nature of International Relations.

Ans. The complexities of international relations make simple solutions and trustworthy prophecies impossible. In every event, different forces and motivations are at work according to the prevailing circumstances. And it is very difficult to deduce generalisations from them which could be made applicable to future situations. In this sense, the international relations is a field extraordinarily difficult for science to enter. International relations can at best be considered as a social science. It is said that formulae and principles of universal applicability have been developed in international relations. For example, the realisation on the part of international actors about the usefulness of war is a generalisation of universal applicability. It is on the basis of the scientific generalisation that a new era of peaceful co-existence appears to be in sight though still far off. Personal diplomacy narrows down the conflicts by settling the differences bilaterally and through peaceful means.

Q. 3. Discuss the scope of International Relations.

Ans. The scope of international relations is wide. It is concerned with the study of totality of relations of any, people or groups in the world society. It covers all aspects of relations between the countries and people political or non-political, peaceful or war-like, legal or cultural, economic or geographic. Again, some consider the international relations as an action on the part of a group, state or government, direct towards another group which react to it. Further, the international relations is a study of both co-operative and oppositional relations among the states. After the second world war, the scope of international relations has been widened. Since the foreign policy and military power are closely related, the study of war and its strategy are also included in the international relations. The scholars consider the struggle for power as reality in international politics.

Q. 4. Discuss the liberal traditional to the study of international relations.

Ans. It is said that liberalism is the basis of international relations. It regards the power politics as the passing phase of

history. According to the liberal view, a society or nation is formed due to evolution. The essence of liberal study is that there should be means to give up the bad and to foster the good. It visualises a world free from war, inequality and tyranny. This new order will be marked by constant progress in human welfare brought about by the use of reason, education and science. Thus the liberal approach proceeds with the assumption that the interests of the different nations are likely to be adjusted in the larger interests of the mankind as a whole. But the liberal view is ambiguous and it runs short of factual position.

Q. 5. Discuss the Realist tradition of the International Relations.

Ans. The Realist view is an important approach to the study of international relations. The scholars consider the struggle for power as reality in international politics. To them, it is an end, not a means. They claim that the purpose of study of world issues is to understand them in the real sense through theoretical investigation. This has to be done in the context of the present day world-social and economic order rather than in isolation. According to the Realist view, the concern of international relations is threefold :

- (a) motivating factors of foreign policies every where,
- (b) techniques of the conduct of foreign policies, and
- (c) mode of resolution of international conflicts.

Here the emphasis is given to the forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of nation-states. Again, the Realist approach lays stress on the importance of national interest. It takes power or influence as the only means for the furtherance of national interest.

Q. 6. Mention the distinctions between International Relations and International Politics.

Ans. The term international relations is considered wider in scope as it is the study of totality of relations of any people and groups in the world society. It covers all aspects of relations between countries and people political or non-political, peaceful or war-like, legal or cultural, official or non-official. On the otherhand, the term international politics connotes the politics of international community in a rather narrow sense, concerning

mainly diplomacy and the relations among states and other political units.

Again, international relations means contracts, connections as well as action and interaction and includes all even nonpolitical aspects of transactions between nations. But international politics refers to only those actions which are political in nature. We are to note that Morgenthau, Palmer and Parkins have used the term international relations in place of international politics.

Q. 7. Explain the distinctions between Realism and Idealism in international relations.

Ans. In international relations, the differences between realism and idealism are :

(a) Realism believes that there is a constant strife and rivalry among the states. But the Idealists do not believe that there is always a contest for power;

(b) Realism is based on the real concept of power, while idealism is based on abstract philosophical grounds;

(c) Realists hold that it is not possible to manage conflicts while the Idealists stress that conflict can be reduced through education and creating legal institutions;

(d) Realism dictates the realisation of immediate requirements irrespective of moral convictions whereas idealism looks to the future at the risk of the present.

Q. 8. Discuss the importance or significance of study of international relations today.

Ans. International relations enables us to study the basic motivations of the states in world affairs. Again, the motto of live and let live has attained great prominence in the international relations. The study of international relations can also help the people to understand that nationalism is not an unmixed blessing. Further the study of international relations demonstrated that the concept of the sovereignty has become outdated. It creates a faith in solving the problems in the collective form. It explains us of the foreign policies of the major and smaller states. Again, the study of international relations provides strategy for the third world countries to adopt for the development of their country. Lastly, it provides the feeling of universal brotherhood which is a must for the development of the human race among the world community.

Q. 9. Point out two limitations of the Realist tradition of International Relations.

Ans. Two limitations :

(a) The Realist theory wrongly assumes that power is the most important goal which the nations pursue. In fact, the other considerations also greatly influence the actions of the states, such as wealth, cultural welfare, security, protection, and promotion of ideology; and

(b) the Realist theory is defective in so far as it treats the world as a static unit in which power is a permanent guiding factor. This is against the well-accepted fact that the nations go on changing from time to time.

Q. 10. Make the criticism of realism in the study of IR.

Ans. (1) The Realist theory is controversial as it upholds monistic theory of power.

(2) Realist theory is conservative as it fails to recognise that units within political system can introduce systematic changes in international politics.

(3) Realists fail to emphasize that increasing interdependence among states reduces the conditions of anarchy in international system.

(4) The post-modern critical theorists sharply opposed the Realist theory. They aspire to promote an alternative theory by demolishing state-centric political system.

Q. 11. Basic meaning of 'core' and 'periphery'.

Ans. 'Core' and 'periphery' are the central idea of the world system theory. According to this theory the core region exploit the periphery region. The profitable production centres are located in some regions which can be specified as core regions. The low profit-making production system is geographically dispersed throughout the world. These regions are termed as periphery zones. The relation between core and periphery amount to relations between high profit-making and low-profit earning activities. The production relations between core and periphery zones ensure transfer of surplus value from the peripheral sector to the core regions. The surplus is transferred not only from the workers to the owners but also from the owners of the periphery to owners of the core zones. The coreness or peripherality is not associated inherently with any particular kind of economic activities. Many peripheral zones display mixture of core activities and peripheral activities.

Q. 12. Meaning of 'satellite' and 'metropolises' :

Ans. Concepts of 'satellites' and 'metropolises' are closely related with the theory of dependency. These concepts are formulated by Andre Gunder Frank in the years of 1960's. Frank based his ideas on a close study of the effects of capitalism in history. He explained the city was the metropole that dominated the 'satellites' around it. These metropolises are dominated by the European countries, then these 'metropolises' act as 'satellites'. Frank used this concept of 'satellite' and 'metropolises' to identify the inequality and under development in Latin America in the 1960's.

Q. 13. Write down the features of the world system theory.

Ans. • Influenced by Marxism and its idea of accumulation of wealth.

• Class divisions have assumed a regional character in the post colonial world.

• The world is divided into 'core' and 'periphery' regions a system in which the rich capitalist core regions dominate over the poor periphery, mainly the third world regions.

• Semi-periphery is not as advanced as the core, but ahead of the periphery in terms of wealth accumulation.

• There may be 'core' and 'periphery' within the 'core' and 'periphery' regions; the new class struggle would involve the 'core' and the 'periphery'.

• 'Enclave Economy' and national capitalists are responsible for under development in the third world region.

The theory has been criticized in several manners :

• Wallerstein's historical analysis has been criticized as controversial.

• His concept of world system is subject to sharp criticisms.

• This theory fails to explain internal structure operating within the capitalist system.

• The theory fails to explain the hegemonic behaviour of former Soviet Union and China's policies.

• Wallerstein's views about semi-peripheral zone is debatable.

• According to Robert Cox, this theory fails to offer precise explanation about the structural transformation of world system.

• Still, the theory exposes the process and mechanisms of neo-colonial exploitation. Prof. Jayantanuj Bandopadhyay acknowledges certain positive contributions of world system theory.

- World system theory highlights that inter-state system is hierarchically structured and governed by a private oligarchy of strong states.

- It analyses causes of subordination and marginalization of poor developing states by big hegemonic power.

Q. 14. Write down the six principles of Realist Approach.

Ans. (1) The law of politics is rooted in human nature which is self-seeking, self-interested and power-loving.

(2) Politics is an autonomous sphere of activity, and does not depend on economics. The concepts of power and interest can make politics independent of other disciplines.

(3) A state's interests are not fixed; they are changeable depending on time and space. This reality must be recognized in international politics.

(4) Ethics in international politics is political or situational ethics, and therefore sharply opposed to private morality.

(5) Political realism believes that aspirations of a particular state cannot become the governing law of the universe.

(6) State craft is a sober and uninspiring activity that involves a profound awareness of human limitations. Human nature as it is should be considered in international politics, rather than the human nature as it should be.

The Realist approach is criticised by the Liberals and the Feminists for their narrow and partial views. This theory expressed that power seems to be the only important element in IR. It reduces other aspects of politics such as co-operation, people's freedom, nature of the government, values and beliefs of the people, and motivation of the leaders to a negligible level. Critics also argue that realism is a narrowly focused theory. Despite criticisms by many schools of thought in IR, realism continues to be an important theory in the discipline because of its emphasis on power and the significance of the state in international politics. Realism will continue to remain relevant as long as the states pursue power and remain the pivotal actors in world politics.

Q. 15. Write down the basic features of neoliberal theory of IR.

Ans. (1) The theory is marked by free trade and globalization.
 (2) Minimum state intervention in economic life.
 (3) To remove state control on economic life.

(4) Free trade can best thrive in a democratic political system as it secures human rights and basic freedoms of people.

(5) Dis-integration of Soviet Union and the socialist block marked the triumph of free market economy.

(6) In the twenty-first century, co-operation and interdependence of states are possible through globalization.

C. VERY SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M.-1

Q. 1. In which year the Peace Treaty of West Phelia signed?

Ans. In 1648.

Q. 2. In which year French Revolution occurred?

Ans. In 1789.

Q. 3. Which year First World War happened?

Ans. In 1914.

Q. 4. Define International Relations.

Ans. International Relations as a branch of social science is concerned with relations among nations, and other issues like non-state actors, international political economy, international security, foreign policies of major powers, globalizations, international terrorism, international environment, and area studies.

Q. 5. Name two liberal theorists of IR.

Ans. N. Angell and W. Wilson.

Q. 6. Name two neo liberal thinkers of IR.

Ans. Robert K. Ohmac, Francis Fukuyama.

Q. 7. Name the book of Francis Fukuyama.

Ans. The End of Socialism.

Q. 8. Write two features of neo-liberalism.

Ans. (i) Economic liberalism is marked by free trade and globalisation.

(ii) Minimum state intervention in Economic life.

Q. 9. Name two thinkers of classical realism.

Ans. (i) Thucydides, (ii) Niccolo Machiavelli.

Q. 10. Who wrote 'Twenty years' crises'?

Ans. E. H. Carr.

Q. 11. Name the book of Hans J. Morganthau.

Ans. The 'Politics Among Nations'.

Q. 12. Name two thinkers of Neo-realist.

Ans. (i) K. Waltz and (ii) T. Schelling.

Q. 13. Make two features of Neo-realism?

Ans. (i) Only free market economy can achieve sustained growth is not true.

(ii) The structure of the system and its relative distribution of power are the focal points of analysis.

Q. 14. What is core regions?

Ans. Core regions are related with capitalist area and this is the central idea of the World system theory.

Q. 15. Which doctrine dominated the world system theory?

Ans. The Marxian doctrine.

Q. 16. Name two scholars of the world system theory.

Ans. Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin.

Q. 17. Who elucidated The Dependency Theory?

Ans. Andre Gunter Frank.

Q. 18. What are the central idea of the Dependency Theory.

Ans. The theory divided the world into two metropolises and satellites. Metropolises dominated satellites because metropolises are rich capitalist countries than satellites.

Q. 19. What are the basis of Dependency Theory?

Ans. The theory based on the underdevelopment and inequalities of Latin America during 1950's.

Q. 20. Name two thinker of Feminist Approach?

Ans. C. Enloe and C. Sylvester.

D. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M.-1

Q. 1. "International Relations include all intercourse among states and all movements of people, goods and ideas across national frontiers"--Said by Margenthau/ Palmer and, Perkins/ Hartmann.

Ans. Hartmann

Q. 2. "The study of International Relations is not a science with which we solve the problems of international life. At

its best it is an objective and systematic approach to those problems", said by (Hoffmann, Palmer and Perkins/ Frankel.

Ans. Palmer and Perkins.

Q. 3. "International Relations are the actual relations that take place across national boundaries or as the body of knowledge where we have those relations at a given time".

--Observed by Hoffmann/ Dunn/ Morgenthau.

Ans. Dunn.

Q. 4. According to Palmer and Perkins/ Hartmann/ Frankel, "the study of international relations has become increasingly interdisciplinary, behavioural, comparative and scientific".

Ans. Palmer and Perkins.

Q. 5. Who was offered the first chair of international politics at the University of Wales in 1919?

Ans. Zimmern.

Q. 6. Mention two theories of International Relations.

Ans. (a) The Realist theory, and (b) The systems theory.

Q. 7. Who was the principal exponent of the systems theory of International Relations?

Ans. Kaplan.

Q. 8. What are the essential ingredients of international relations?

Ans. The essential elements of international relations are: (a) Geographic, (b) Economic, (c) Demographic, and (d) Strategic

Q. 9. "International Relations is not simply the relations between two nations but something more than that"---said by Frankel/ Morgenthau/ Carr.

Ans. Carr

Q. 10. "International Relations is not a single subject but a bundle of subjects"---observed by Schuman/ Friedmann/ Zimmern.

Ans. Zimmern.

Q. 11. According to Palmer and Perkins/ Carr/ Hoffman, "International politics is essentially concerned with the state system".

Ans. Palmer and Perkins.

Q. 12. "International politics is the unending struggle for, and use of, power among nations," said by -Friedmann/ Car/Morgenthau.

Ans. Morgenthau.

Q. 13. According to Quincy Wright/ Frankel/ Zimmern— Relations is the relations between powerful nations".

Ans. Quincy Wright.

Q. 14. Realism developed by— Morgenthau/S. Amin/ Fukuyama/Churchill.

Ans. Morgenthau.

Q. 15. Neo-realism explained the— Fearness/Security of war.

Ans. Fearness.

Q. 16. 'Twenty year crisis' Written by— Carr/Morgenthau/ A. G. Frank/W. Willson

Ans. Carr.

Q. 17. Marxist theory dominate— realism/neoliberalism/ Dependency theory/World system theory.

Ans. Both (c) and (d)

Q. 18. Realism/neo-liberalism/classical realism/Marxism— encouraged the concept of globalization.

Ans. Neo-liberalism.

Q. 19. 'Core and periphery' is the central idea of—realism/ world system theory/Feminism/liberalism.

Ans. World system theory.

Q. 20. 'Metropolises and satellites' are the central idea of—dependency theory/neo-realism/classical realism/post modernism.

Ans. Dependency theory.

MODULE - I

2

COLD WAR

- (a) Second World War & Origins of Cold War;
(b) Phases of Cold War : First Cold War; Rise and Fall of Detente
Second Cold War.

A. LONG QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS EACH QUESTION CARRIES 15 MARKS

Q. 1. Write down the causes of the Second World War.

Ans. The Second World War began due to the quarrel between Germany, Italy, Japan, Britain, France, America and Soviet Russia. The Second World War, like the first was the final outcome of a struggle between the imperialist states for redivisions of colonies. There were several factors which tended to produce the process that culminated in the war.

(1) Imperialist as the root cause of War : The peace settlement of 1919 deprived Germany of all his colonial possessions which were divided by the victors of the First World War. By 1920 the whole colonial world was grapped by the Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, the United States, Italy and Japan. Among these countries Britain and France had huge number of colonies. A redivision of the colonial world was not realisable by peaceful means, German imperialists could hope to obtain colonies or spheres of influence only by wrestling them from the existing colonial powers. Italy and Japan lined up behind Germany because they had few colonial possessions. They could also obtain new colonies or spheres of influence only by wrestling them from other colonial powers.

(2) The peace settlement of 1919. The Versailles Treaty is regarded as one of the causes of the Second World War. The clause and the harsh and punitive economic clauses wounded the national pride and sentiment of German people, which Hitler could use in pursuing the predatory aims of German imperialism. On the other hand, the Treaty failed to exact from Germany an adequate military guarantee of security. The Treaty provided German imperialists and militarists the necessary time to revive their ambitions and military strength. The Versailles Treaty was not one of the primary causes of the war. The terms of the peace settlement were not enforced when it was necessary.

(3) Anglo-French conflict. The enforcement of the peace settlement depended on the co-operation of Britain and France in particular. One of the most important factors that enabled Hitlerite Germany to wage the most barbarous war in history was that Britain and France were the ally over the execution of the peace settlement. As Britain and France drifted ever further apart diplomatically, Germany could have violated the provisions of the Versailles Treaty one after another with impunity. The conflict between French and British policies had destroyed the League as an instrument of collective action against the peace-breaker. To France and her eastern allies maintenance of the territorial status and French hegemony in Europe was essential.

(4) Anti-Sovietism and appeasement policy. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union replaced the fear of German militarism in the minds of Western statesmen by the spectre of Soviet Communism. The Governments of Great Britain and France were so scared by communism that they considered that Germany might be used as a bulwark, correctly stated by David Thomson, against the Soviet Union. Nazi Germany successfully used this fear of communism, which obsessed the Great Powers, as a weapon with which to strengthen his position and to paralyse the League. The Grand Alliance which could have curbed Hitler's ambitions was not built.

(5) The rise of Fascism and Nazism. There were the additional factors of political philosophies, Fascism and Nazism, in Italy, Japan and Germany—which envisaged the hegemony of the respective in the world. Fascism and Nazism meant war.

(6) **The direct cause of the war.** On September 1, 1939 Hitler attacked Poland. The British and French Governments, which had underwritten Poland's independence demanded that Germany stop hostilities. A comparative assessment of the strength of the Soviet Union and the Western Powers brought Hitler round to the conclusion that it would be easier to push forward Nazi for world domination by smashing the rival capitalist group than by attacking the socialist Soviet Union. The war broke out between two antagonistic groups of imperialist powers. It sprang from the fascist encroachments on the national existence of a number of countries and also on the imperialist positions of Britain and France and on their colonies.

Q. 2. Discuss the meaning and nature of Cold War.

Ans. The Second World War, like the First World War, significantly altered the international scene. For the first time in the history of international relations, a non-European power—the U.S.A. became a decisive factor in international politics. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. emerged as powerful states. The two states are considered as super-powers as they have the capacity to intervene, interfere and move the armed forces in any part of the world. The conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. for strengthening their own blocks and taking steps to see that the other block is weakened without entering into direct war is known as the cold war.

As a concept of international relations, cold war denotes a state of constant conflict and strife, maintained and perpetuated without a direct armed conflict between the antagonists. Cold war is a state of intensive competition, political, economic, and ideological, which yet fall below the threshold of armed conflict between states. Cold war embraces all phenomena pertaining to the conflict between communism and democratic ideologies as well as protagonists, the United States and the Soviet Union and the two blocks led by the super powers.

The nature of cold war is the sharp diplomatic confrontation, propaganda war, economic warfare and war by proxy in the small areas without direct major military conflict. Cold war is a diplomatic war. In a cold war, peacetime diplomatic relations are maintained while the hostilities continue at the same

time. It creates a feeling that at any time a hot war may burst out. Cold war was the result of the tension resulting from the formation of two blocks namely east and west. Cold war was neither peace nor war. It was an ideological war, a propaganda war, and a diplomatic war, but not a state of armed struggle. It was based on the assumption that the real threat to the world peace was posed by the military strength of the Soviet Union. Again, no co-operation is possible between the states with different social systems. The struggle between the east and the west is a struggle between freedom and tyranny. It may be pointed out that the cold war was the development of a big arms race between the two blocks led by America and the Soviet Union. Because of the discovery of the atom bomb, nuclear weapons were acquired in huge numbers by both the blocks making the cold war a very dangerous type of conflict in the world. Furthermore, the cold war between the super powers (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) did not confine itself to one particular region like Europe or Asia but extended to almost all parts of the world. In their efforts to expand their spheres of influence for political or strategic, ideological and economic reasons, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. began to intervene in the conflict of other countries to gain whatever advantage they could. Thus, the cold war has been basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of cold war.

Q. 3. Discuss the origin of the cold war.

Ans. The term "cold war" indicates the political tension which is the most characteristic feature of the two block (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) system dominating world politics since the end of the Second World War. The conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. for strengthening their own blocks and taking steps to see that the other block is weakened without entering into direct war is called East and West conflict.

The basic cause of the cold war is sought in the great difference of outlook and philosophy between the two superior powers, i.e., the United States and the Soviet Union. Ideology, therefore, is the root of the cold war. The American way of life represents a type of democracy which is fundamentally different

from the Soviet type of democracy. The gulf between the two types is unbridgeable. As neither party is strong enough to crush the other, they must co-exist. But ideological differences are too strong to allow really peaceful co-existence. Therefore, co-existence is embittered by cold war, i.e., constant political tension.

The ideological differences between the United States and the Soviet Union did not originate during the Second World War, they were created by forces emerging from the Russian Revolution of 1917. Allied intervention in the civil war against the Bolsheviks had generated initial bad blood. Soviet Russia feared hostile capitalist encirclement, while the western powers charged the Bolsheviks with subversion. During the thirties the quest for collective security did not materialise because of mutual suspicion. The Soviet Union even feared that the Western powers were appeasing Hitler and instigating him against the Bolsheviks. The Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact of 1939 testified to bitter east-west relations. But for several reasons, however, they did not culminate in cold war till the Second World War was over. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union was a super power in 1939, they acquired that status during the Second World War. Before that War they did not confront each other as rivals for world domination. Their political interests were confined to separate regions. As a matter of fact, they did not have many points of contact till Hitler's challenge brought them together.

The United States and the Soviet Union became allies in a common struggle against Nazism. Even then the ideological differences were not forgotten. The critics described it as the "strange alliance". But Nazism was a common menace strong enough to demand temporary forgetfulness of difference and active co-operation. So, during the dangerous year of 1941-1945, these ideological differences were deliberately soft-headed by common consent. Even unity was preserved at the Yalta conference, thanks largely to Roosevelt's "good neighbours policy", the cracks became wider at Potsdam. But the structure did not collapse because another common enemy—Japan had not yet surrendered.

After the fall of Japan, there was no longer need for adjustment; the ideological differences, reflected in conflict of

concrete interests began to influence policy on both sides. In the United States, the powerful pressure groups began to mobilise support for anti-Russian—later anti-Chinese policies. They claimed to uphold the principles of self-determination and democracy in all parts of the world.

To conclude, in fact, the cold war has been basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the postwar era of international relations as an era of cold war. It may be pointed out that the cold war started in 1945 and ended in 1991 when the U.S.S.R. was split into 15 independent nations. All these nations have now adopted democracy and capitalism in place of communism. Privatisation took place in state-owned enterprises in these states. Further, the Russian state joined NATO in 1994. Thus the East-West conflict came to an end with the collapse of the U.S.S.R. at the end of 1991.

Q. 4. Discuss the effects of the Cold War.

Or, Analyse the impact of cold war on international politics.

Ans. The cold war has been basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of cold war. It may be pointed out that the cold war started in 1945 and ended in 1991 when the U.S.S.R. was split into 15 independent nations.

The phantom of cold war had created an atmosphere of fear psychosis which generated a mad race for manufacturing of nuclear armaments. Both the blocks (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) were viewing each other to be ahead of the other in acquiring more sophisticated nuclear armaments. Again, the cold war made both the super powers (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) to spend huge amounts to acquire nuclear weapons. This has led to diversion of money from national developmental plans to the building up armaments. In this process, both the countries armed to the teeth. The cold war has complicated the chances of achieving the objective of one world. The mutual rivalry between the super powers had reduced the United Nations (U.N.) to a simple forum of deliberations. It prevented certain countries to become members of the U.N. Further, the cold war has given rise to

permanent types of alliances which are concluded much in advance of war. NATO, SEATO, CENTO and the Warsaw Pact were also formed in the wake of the cold war. This alignment system covers most countries of the world. Thus, the cold war had led to alignment system even during the peace times and constant efforts are made to strengthen them. Besides, the cold war has affected the world economy as well. The smaller countries which are relatively poor and possess limited resources cannot afford to enter the race for armaments. And lastly, the cold war gave greater freedom of action to small and middle powers. Each group tries to win them over. The influence which the Afro-Asian countries are able to exert in the U.N. is well known.

Q. 5. Discuss the different phases of the cold war.

Ans. The cold war has been basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of cold war. It may be pointed out that the cold war started in 1945 and ended in 1991 when the U.S.S.R. was split into 15 independent nations.

The evaluation or course of cold war can be presented under eight phases. They are analysed below :

First Phase (1946-1949) : During the period from 1946-1949, the West was under impression that if strong pressure is organised, the Red regime in the U.S.S.R. would collapse like a house of cards because the U.S.A. had the atom bomb monopoly and the U.S.S.R. lacked it. Again, the U.S.A. resorted to direct military intervention through the Truman Doctrine, and economic integration by Marshall Plan (1947). This phase was also marked by anti-communist feeling which the U.S.A. tried to implement throughout the world. And this phase of cold war ended with the conclusion of the N.A.T.O. (1949).

Second Phase (1949-1953) : During the period from 1949-1953, the U.S.A. continued her policy of military and economic assistance against the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A. concluded her security treaty with Australia and Newzealand and Peace Treaty with Japan in this period. The Korean War also occurred in this period. The U.S.A. intensified her anti-communist propaganda and spent millions of dollars for this purpose.

Third Phase (1953-1957) : During this phase, the U.S.A. continued her policy of military and economic offensive. The U.S.A. organised the SEATO and MEDO. It also established a number of military bases around the U.S.S.R. and concluded defence treaties with 40 States. It was during this period that the U.S.A. involved herself in Vietnam, which turned out to be a grim climax of the cold war. The U.S.S.R. also concluded WARSAW TREATY with east European powers to counteract NATO. It entered into defence treaties with 15 states.

Fourth Phase (1957-1962) : During this period, the principles of peaceful co-existence were asserted, and it saw the most dangerous Cuban missile crisis which has virtually brought the entire mankind on the brink of the third world war. In this period, there had been mutual exchange of cultural and political delegates.

Fifth Phase (1962-1970) : During this period, there was a world wide concern demanding ban on nuclear weapons. The Geneva Hot Line Aggrement (1963) brought the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. more closer. However, the problem of Germany and Vietnam was still a riddle for both blocs. A call for disarmament was given during this period.

Sixth Phase (1970-1976) : This period has been marked by detente. The congenial climate for detente was created in 1972. The President Nixon of the U.S.A. paid a visit to Moscow and signed the agreements on certain matters with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms. The U.S.S.R. President Brezhnev also visited the U.S.A. and concluded an agreement for greater co-operation in different fields. Besides the detente, there were many points of conflict between the two super powers. For example, in Bangladesh formation, the U.S.A. extended full support to Pakistan while the U.S.S.R. stood by the side of India.

Seventh Phase (1976-1979) : In this period, the prospects of mitigating cold war were marred by sudden developments in Afghanistan where the Russian armed intervention rather aggravated the situation. It fanned the dying fumes of cold war.

Eighth or Last Phase (1979-1994) : The process of normalisation of relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. suffered a set back in the wake of certain political developments

in Afghanistan, Gorbachev (U.S.S.R.) and Reagan (U.S.A.) came to an understanding regarding medium range missiles and start war programme. Again, the Washington Meeting (1987) and the Summit Meeting (1990) between the Presidents of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. brought close the two states. And after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. (1991), the cold war ended with the efforts of Russian State to join the NATO in 1994.

Q. 6. Explain the causes of the Cold War.

Ans. Cold War is a post-War international development, it is not an entirely new phenomenon. The western powers then refused to recognise the new communist government and the USA accorded recognition to it only in 1933. The historians refer to some immediate causes of cold war.

(1) **Sovietization of Eastern Europe.** The establishment of communist regimes in whole of Eastern Europe under hegemony of Soviet Union generated deep-seated suspicions among western powers. Czechoslovakian coup of 1948 widened rift between East and West.

(2) **Russia's policy towards Iran.** Under an agreement of 1942, the Allied Forces agreed to withdraw from Iran within six months after surrender of Germany. But Soviet Union after the was instigated a rebellion in Northern Iran and pressurized it to sign a treaty with Russia for supply of oil resources of North Iran to Russia for the next 25 years. Russia's refusal to withdraw her forces from Iran led to further course. At the intervention of the U.N. Soviet Russia withdrew her forces from Iran.

(3) **Soviet Pressure on Greece and Turkey.** The communists of Greece after the election in 1945 engineered a guerrilla war against Greek government which was turned into civil war. The communist forces sought outside help from Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia. American President Truman despatched military assistance to restore civil rule in Greece. Soviet Union brought pressure on Turkey for Modification of the Montevideo convention of 1936. But Turkey refused to oblige. Churchill again appealed to the USA for necessary help to thwart Soviet pressure on Turkey.

(4) **German Problem.** German problem after the war became major bone of contention between Soviet Union and Western

powers. After the war, Germany was divided into two parts the western part being known as the Federal Republic of Germany with a democratic system on western pattern and an economy based on capitalism. The democratic Republic was set up in East Germany with a communist system of government and an economy based on Marxism.

(5) Differences over Peace Treaties. Serious disagreement also erupted over the peace treaties that complicated the process of peace-making. The Austrian state Treaty was delayed until 1955 because of disagreement between the western powers and Austria over demarcation of Austria's boundaries. Subsequently, it led to chain reactions and succession of move and counter-moves in international politics of the post-war decades.

(6) The foremost reason for antagonism between the two superpowers was the opening of the second front to divide the German army. The Soviet Union was pressurizing the opening of the Second Front from June 1941 but finally, the Supreme commander, General Dwight Eisenhower opened the Second Front in June 1944. The delay in opening the Second Front created suspicion in the minds of the Soviets resulting in antagonism between the two.

Q. 7. Explain the first phase of Cold War.

Ans. The first phase of cold war can be traced back since imposition of communist regimes in Eastern Europe under hegemony of Soviet. The situations in Greece, Turkey, and Iran incited the United States to adopt an interventionist foreign policy against its policy of isolationism. Western European powers being seriously perturbed appealed to the USA to come to aid. Consequently, American President Truman responded to the call and formulated a new policy of containment to restrain onward marcher of communism. Truman Doctrine was subsequently reinforced by the Marshall Plan. The Soviets devised their own strategy of expanding socialism to east Europe through financing and militarizing the East Block. The US took a major initiative of providing a security ring for West European countries by the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. In response to Marshall Plan, Soviet Union established the council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The partition of Germany, the Berlin blockade and Airlift of 1948-49 aggravated cold war rivalries between the USA and USSR. Brussels Treaty and NATO were signed to counteract Soviet expansionist design. Americans refusal to recognise the communist government of China and its support to nationalist regime of Taiwan further accelerated cold war between the communist and western non-communist blocks. The cold war had got firmly entrenched Europe by the beginning of the next decade.

Q. 8. Write down the meaning and nature of Detente.

Ans. Detente actually facilitates compromise and cooperation in limited spheres for mutual interest. At the American University in 1963, President John F. Kennedy explained the necessity of reduction of tensions and lessening the risk of war. It is very difficult to give an exact meaning to such ambiguous concepts like detente. The initiatives and serious developments that took place during the period of detente. Henry Kissinger pointed out that "Detente is a process, not a permanent achievement-obviously the main concern must be to reduce the source of potential conflicts." Detente is a French term signifying restoration of friendship. Many authors maintain that former French President, Charles de Gaulle First used the term in 1950 and he was keenly interested in normalizing relations between East and West.

It is rather difficult to identify the exact time when cold war came to thaw and was replaced by detente. The first phase of detente can be traced to 1955 with Khrushchev and Bulganin's visit to Geneva for a Summit conference with Eisenhower and Eden. The Soviet leaders put forward a new disarmament proposal there. The second phase of detente may be traced to March, 1959. In 1959, Khrushchev went to America and second summit was arranged which was scheduled to be held in May 1960. The summit ended in chaos before it really started and U-2 incident spoilt the spirit of detente. The new period of detente started in the summer of 1963. Soviet Russia's consent to sign a partial test ban treaty represented a significant step towards detente. In 1970, West Germany signed non-aggression treaties with the USSR and Poland. Gradually, East-West relations improved not only between Soviet block and the West

but also between China and the West.

Other agreements dealt with space research, trade and pollution. Preparations began in 1973 for a general settlement on European problems and Nixon helped the process by granting recognition to East Germany in 1974. The US-Soviet commission was set up to promote cooperation in trade. The joint cooperation in space led to Appollo-Soyuz link up in 1975. It initiated deliberation on ways required to reduce risk of accident near in Europe. The conference paved to finalization of the agreements on extending economic and cultural links throughout the continent and on safe-guarding certain fundamental human rights. New strategic Arms Limitations Talk began in 1974. The next conference met again in 1978 in Belgrade. But Belgrade conference was sourced by wrangling and hot debates on human rights issue. The USA was dismayed by spread of communism in the whole of Indo-China. Events in Angola and Ethiopia became sources of irritants in the US-Soviet relations.

At the end of 1979, Soviet military intervention in Afganisthan drove both super powers towards a new wave of cold war. Simultaneously, after the overthrow of Somoza in Nicaragua in 1979 the communist party gained full control there and began to support the gurerrillas in El Salvador. These new developments provoked American Senate to refuse to sign the strategic Arms limitation Talks II. By 1980, detente was almost regarded as having failed. On october 27, 1982 Brezhnev admitted that "Russia declares detente with the USA as dead." American President Ronald Reagan emphasized more on building up American strength rather than negotiating with Soviet Union.

Q. 9. Examine the main factors of Detente.

Or, Examine the causes which leading to Detente.

Ans. (1) The spectacular advances in nuclear weapon technology and unbridled arms race between the USA and the USSR drifted the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust. The fear of nuclear war and the Chinese aggression paved the way to reapproachment and detente between two super powers.

(2) The Cuban crisis of 1962 which drew the USA and USSR to the brink of war prompted them to adopt cautious approach

and to reduce the dangers of cold war by promoting friendly relations.

(3) The Soviet policy of peaceful co existence as propounded by Khrushchev after death of Stalin paved the way for congenial atmosphere for detente.

(4) The growing opposition to American involvement in Vietnam war also compelled the American administration to accept detente in international relation.

(5) The Sino-Soviet rift had motivated Soviet Russia to adhere to less rigid posture and to make compromise with the Western powers.

(6) The Discords and dissensions within NATO influenced, the USA to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the Soviet Union. The USA conceived that detente would offer the USA the opportunity to review some long-term problems of Atlantic alliance in greater details. The other western powers assumed that detente was likely to operate to their advantages.

(7) The Soviet leaders also anticipated that detente might offer a chance to exploit strains in western alliance.

(8) The growing popularity of NAM among large number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and friendly cooperation among them, reflected growing aversion to cold-war rivalries.

Q. 10. Write down the implications of Detente.

Ans. Detente normalized the relations between the Soviets and Americans. Detente was marked by several major visits, cultural exchanges, trade agreements, joint technological ventures and obviously arms reduction endeavours, in place of threats, warnings and confrontations.

1. Immediately after the Cuban Missile Crisis, a "hotline" was installed in 1963 linking the White House and the Kremlin.

2. The Partial Test Treaty was signed in 1963, the outer space Treaty was signed in 1967, and the Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed in 1968.

3. Nixon's visit to Moscow in 1972 culminated in the signing of the strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The talks produced two agreements : The first in 1972, known as the SALT I, and the second in 1979, called SALT II.

4. A number of agreements pertaining to trade, agriculture oceanography, economic and culture followed. In 1973, there

was a US-Soviet Agreement on guidelines for arms control and reduction.

5. In Europe, detente culminated symbolically with the conference on security and cooperation in Europe in Helsinki in August 1975. It was attended by 34 countries of Europe and North America and formulated certain agreed principles regarding the relationship between the states of the two blocks. Though nothing concrete was achieved, yet it contributed to the easing of tensions.

6. The spirit of detente was carried forward with the United States and Soviet Union's Apollo-Soyuz joint mission in July 1975.

7. Detente also gave an opportunity to the United States to mend its relationship with China.

B. SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M-10

Q. 1. Main cause of the Second World War.

Ans. On September 1, 1939 Hitler attacked Poland. The British and French Governments, which had underwritten Poland's independence, demanded that Germany stop hostilities. A comparative assessment of the strength of the Soviet Union and the Western Powers brought Hitler round to the conclusion that it would be easier to push forward Nazi for world domination by smashing the rival capitalist group than by attacking the socialist Soviet Union. Hitler refused to accede to the Anglo-French demand. The war broke out between two antagonistic groups of imperialist powers. It sprang from the fascist encroachments on the national existence of a number of countries and also on the imperialist positions of Britain and France and on their colonies.

Q. 2. Explain the "Diplomatic Background" of World War II.

Ans. The "Diplomatic Background" of the World War II centered on Danzig and the so-called Polish corridor, which had been separated from Germany by the Versailles Treaty.

The Polish Corridor comprising a territory west of Danzig divided East Prussia from the rest of the Reich and embittered Polish German relations. Danzig was by this time completely

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(7) The cold war engineered competition among super powers to win allegiance of uncommitted developing countries of the world.

(8) The cold war checked the victorious surge of capitalism throughout the world.

Q. 4. Which factors are responsible for the End of Detente?

Ans. (1) Czechoslovakia experienced Prague spring or socialism with a human face, under the reformist leader, Alexander Dubcek in 1967 who also decided to withdraw from the WARSAW Pact. Prague spring became an irritant in the East-West relations.

(2) The Indo-Pak War of 1965-66 and the War of liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 fuelled the super power rivalry. Then there was the Middle East crisis which also dampened the mood of the detente in 1973. The super power competition in the region raised the intensity of Israeli-Arab wars.

(3) The final blow to detente came with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and symbolized the beginning of the New Cold War.

Q. 5. Write a short notes on Cold War (1947-1991).

Ans. The **Cold War (1947-1953)** is the period within the Cold War from the Truman Doctrine in 1947 to the conclusion of the Korean War in 1953. The Cold War emerged in Europe a few years after the successful US USSR UK coalition won World War II in Europe, and extended to 1989-91. In 1947, Bernard Baruch, the multimillionaire financier and adviser to presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Harry S. Truman, coined the term "Cold War" to describe the increasingly chilly relations between two World War II Allies: the United States and the Soviet Union.

Some conflicts between the West and the USSR appeared earlier. In 1945-46 the US and UK strongly protested Soviet political takeover efforts in Eastern Europe and Iran, while the hunt for Soviet spies made the tensions more visible. However historians emphasize the decisive break between the US/UK and the USSR came in 1947-48 over such issues as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the Berlin Blockade, followed by the formation of NATO in 1949. The Cold War took place worldwide, but it had a partially different timing outside Europe.

Q. 6. Write a short notes on Cold War (1953-1962).

Ans. The Cold War (1953-1962) discusses the period within the Cold War from the death of Soviet leader (Joseph Stalin) in 1953 to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Following the death of Stalin, new leaders attempted to "de-Stalinize" the Soviet Union causing unrest in the Eastern Bloc and members of the Warsaw Pact.⁽¹⁾ In spite of this there was a calming of international tensions, the evidence of which can be seen in the signing of the Austrian State Treaty reuniting Austria, and the Geneva Accords ending fighting in Indochina. However, this period of good happenings was only partial with an expensive arms race continuing during the period and a less alarming, but very expensive space race occurring between the two superpowers as well. The addition of African countries to the stage of cold war, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo joining the Soviets, caused even more unrest in the west.

Q. 7. Write a short notes on Cold War (1962-1979).

Ans. The Cold War (1962-1979) refers to the phase within the Cold War that spanned the period between the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis in late October 1962, through the détente period beginning in 1969, to the end of détente in the late 1970s.

The United States maintained its Cold War engagement with the Soviet Union during the period, despite internal preoccupations with the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the Civil Rights Movement and the opposition to United States involvement in the Vietnam War.

In 1968, Eastern Bloc member Czechoslovakia attempted the reforms of the Prague Spring and was subsequently invaded by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact members, who reinstated the Soviet model. By 1973, the US had withdrawn from the Vietnam War. While communists gained power in some South East Asian countries, they were divided by the Sino-Soviet Split, with China moving closer to the Western camp, following US President Richard Nixon's visit to China. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Third World was increasingly divided between governments backed by the Soviets (such as Libya, Iraq and Syria), governments backed by NATO (such as Saudi Arabia), and a growing camp of non-aligned nations.

The Soviet and other Eastern Bloc economies continued to stagnate. Worldwide inflation occurred following the 1973 oil crisis.

Q. 8. Write a short notes on Cold War (1947-1985).

Ans. The **Cold War (1979-1985)** refers to a late phase of the Cold War marked by a sharp increase in hostility between the Soviet Union and the West. It arose from a strong denunciation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. With the election of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1979, and American President Ronald Reagan in 1980, a corresponding change in Western foreign policy approach toward the Soviet Union was marked by the rejection of détente in favor of the Reagan Doctrine policy of rollback, with the stated goal of dissolving Soviet influence in Soviet Bloc countries. During this time, the threat of nuclear war had reached new heights not seen since the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan following the Saur Revolution in that country, ultimately leading to the deaths of around one million civilians.^[1] Mujahideen fighters succeeded in forcing a Soviet military withdrawal in 1989. In response, U.S. President Jimmy Carter announced a U.S.-led boycott of the Moscow 1980 Summer Olympics. In 1984, the Soviet Union responded with its own boycott of the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, California. Tensions increased when the U.S. announced they would deploy Pershing II missiles in West Germany, followed by Reagan's announcement of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative and were further exacerbated in 1983 when Reagan branded the Soviet Union an "evil empire".

In April 1983, the United States Navy conducted FleetEx '83-1, the largest fleet exercise held to date in the North Pacific. The conglomeration of approximately forty ships with 23,000 crewmembers and 300 aircraft, was arguably the most powerful naval armada ever assembled. U.S. aircraft and ships attempted to provoke the Soviets into reacting, allowing U.S. Naval Intelligence to study Soviet radar characteristics, aircraft capabilities, and tactical maneuvers. On April 4, at least six U.S. Navy aircraft flew over one of the Kurile Islands, Zeleny Island, the largest of a set of islets called the Habomai Islands.

The Soviets were outraged and ordered a retaliatory overflight of the Aleutian Islands. The Soviet Union also issued a formal diplomatic note of protest, which accused the United States of repeated penetrations of Soviet airspace. In the following September, the civilian airliner Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was downed by Soviet fighter jets over nearby Moneron Island.

In November 1983, NATO conducted a military exercise known as "Able Archer 83". The realistic simulation of a nuclear attack by NATO forces caused considerable alarm in the USSR and is regarded by many historians to be the closest the world came to nuclear war since the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

This period of the Cold War would continue through U.S. President Reagan's first term (1981-1985), through the death of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in 1982, the brief interim period of Soviet leadership consisting of Yuri Andropov (1982-1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (1984-1985). This phase in the Cold War concluded in 1985 with the ascension of reform-minded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev who brought a commitment to reduce tensions between the East and the West and bring about major reforms in Soviet society.

Q. 9. Write a short notes on Cold War (1985-1991).

Ans. The Cold War period of 1985-1991 began with the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev was a revolutionary leader for the USSR, as he was the first to promote liberalization of the political landscape (Glasnost) and capitalist elements into the economy (Perestroika); prior to this, the USSR had been strictly prohibiting liberal reform and maintained an inefficient command economy. The USSR, despite facing massive economic difficulties, was involved in a costly arms race with the United States under President Ronald Reagan. Regardless, the USSR began to crumble as liberal reforms proved difficult to handle and capitalist changes to the economy were badly instituted and caused major problems. The Cold War came to an end when the last war of Soviet occupation ended in Afghanistan, the Berlin Wall came down in Germany, and a series of mostly peaceful revolutions swept the Soviet Bloc states of eastern Europe in 1989.

C. VERY SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M.-1

Q. 1. In which year the Second World War began?

Ans. In 1939 the Second World War began.

Q. 2. Name two opponent countries which are involved in the Second World War.

Ans. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

Q. 3. Which treaty was opposed by the Germany?

Ans. The treaty of Versailles.

Q. 4. In which year the treaty of Versailles was signed?

Ans. In the year 1919 after the end of the first World War.

Q. 5. Who was the leader of the Fascist Italy?

Ans. Beneto Mussolini.

Q. 6. Who was the leader of the Natzi Germany?

Ans. Adolf Hitler.

Q. 7. When the Second World War ended?

Ans. In 1945 the Second World War ended.

Q. 8. Who was the British Prime-Minister at the time of the second World War?

Ans. Churchill.

Q. 9. When the cold war began?

Ans. The cold war began after the Second World War during the period of 1945-1990.

Q. 10. What is the cold war?

Ans. The cold war means the tussle between the two super powers USA and USSR in a post-war international development originating from bitter ideological and power rivalries.

Q. 11. Who delivered the Fulton Speech?

Ans. Churchill delivered the Fulton Speech.

Q. 12. Who introduced the word 'Cold War'?

Ans. Walter Lippmann introduced the word.

Q. 13. What was Lippmann's view about cold war?

Ans. Walter Lippmann described the word 'Cold War' to express bitter rivalries and hostilities between the USA and USSR in the post-war era.

Q. 14. Mention two immediate causes of the cold war.

Ans. Sovietization of Eastern Europe and Soviet policy toward Iran.

Q. 15. Mention two consequences of the cold war.

Ans. The cold war unleashed a mad race of armament; The cold war instigating arms race diverted the scarce resources of the world for manufacturing destructive arms.

Q. 16. What was Truman's Doctrine?

Ans. The foreign policy objective of the Truman administration, however was to contain the spread of communism in West Europe. This objective was known as the Truman Doctrine.

Q. 17. What was Marshall Plan?

Ans. Truman's secretary of state George Marshall wanted to bring the whole of West Europe under American influence through the means of economic diplomacy.

Q. 18. Which two policies were criticised by USSR?

Ans. Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

Q. 19. Which policy was adopted by the USA to stop the spreading of communism in Europe.

Ans. The US policy of containment of communism began in Europe.

Q. 20. What were the two major parts of containment of communism?

Ans. Truman Doctrine and Marshall plan.

Q. 21. What is the full form of NATO?

Ans. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Q. 22. In which year NATO created?

Ans. In 1949.

Q. 23. Why NATO was created?

Ans. The US took a major initiative of providing a security ring for West European countries by the creation of the NATO.

Q. 24. In which year Warsaw pact formed?

Ans. The Warsaw Pact formed in 1953.

Q. 25. Why the Warsaw Pact formed?

Ans. The USSR formed the Warsaw Pact to counter the NATO and provide security guarantee to East European countries.

Q. 26. In which year the Korean war happened?

Ans. The Korean War happened in 1950.

Q. 27. In which year Baghdad pact signed?

Ans. In 1955.

Q. 28. In which year Suez canal crisis occurred?

Ans. In 1956 on 26th of July.

Q. 29. In which year Camp David crises over?

Ans. In 1959.

Q. 30. What was Eisenhower Doctrine?

Ans. President Eisenhower faced a Nuclear threat against Britain and France by Moscow and decision to send Soviet Volunteers to support Egypt proclaimed the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine.

Q. 31. In which year Geneva conference held on?

Ans. In 1954.

Q. 32. In which year Congo Crisis occurred?

Ans. In 1960.

Q. 33. Who was the Prime Minister of Congo under the cold war situation?

Ans. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba.

Q. 34. In which year Cuban Missile Crisis occurred?

Ans. In 1962.

Q. 35. Under whose leadership Cuba was against the USA?

Ans. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro.

Q. 36. What is Detente?

Ans. Detente is a French term which signifies restoration of friendship.

Q. 37. Mention two major factors behind detente.

Ans. The spectacular advances in nuclear weapon technology and undeterred arms race between the USA and the USSR drifted.

The growing popularity of NAM among large number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Q. 38. Mention two impacts of Detente.

Ans. Detente helped in terminating the Vietnam War in 1975 and Unified Vietnam.

Also helped in checking nuclear armament race between two super powers.

Q. 39. Mention two setbacks of Detente.

Ans. President Reagan's new foreign policy dampened the spirit of detente.

The American Administration was highly dissatisfied with Soviet involvement in Angola and the Middle East.

Q. 40. What is the full form of SALT.

Ans. The strategic Arms Limitations Talks.

Q. 41. In which year Nixon visit Moscow?

Ans. In 1972.

Q. 42. What is the full form of NPT?

Ans. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

**D. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS
WITH ANSWERS : F. M.-1**

Q. 1. The Second World War began on (a) 1919 (b) 1914
(c) 1939 (d) 1945.

Ans. (c)

Q. 2. (a) Britain (b) France (c) America (d) Germany—was a
fascist country.

Ans. (d)

Q. 3. The cold war began on—(a) 1918 (b) 1945 (c) 1960
(d) 1990.

Ans. (b)

Q. 4. The term 'Cold War' coined by—(a) Walter Lippman
(b) Churchill (c) Stalin (d) Robert cox.

Ans. (a)

Q. 5. The Cold war ended on— (a) 2000 (b) 1990 (c) 1960
(d) 1980.

Ans. (b)

Q. 6. The cold war began between—(a) two (b) three (c) four
(d) five—super powers.

Ans. (a)

Q. 7. Cuban Missile Crisis held on—(a) 1963 (b) 1964
(c) 1975 (d) 1980.

Ans. (a)

Q. 8. Angola is the part of—(a) Europe (b) Africa (c) Asia
(d) America.

Ans. (b)

Q. 9. President Nasser was the leader of—(a) Arab (b) Latin
America (c) Korea (d) Egypt.

Ans. (d)

Q. 10. Truman was the President of—(a) America (b) Russia
(c) Africa (d) Egypt.

Ans. (a)

Q. 11. Cominform was made for—(a) India (b) Germany (c) Africa (d) Russia.

Ans. (d)

Q. 12. Detente was a—(a) French (b) Latin (c) Spanish (d) American—word.

Ans. (a)

Q. 13. Detente basically started after the death of—(a) Churchill (b) Truman (c) Stalin (d) Hitler.

Ans. (c)

Q. 14. Ronald Reagan was the President of—(a) USA (b) China (c) USSR (d) UK.

Ans. (a)

Q. 15. Architect of detente was—(a) Nixon (b) Reagan (c) Lumumba (d) Nasser.

Ans. (a)

MODULE - II

3

END OF COLD WAR AND COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

- (a) Post Cold-War Era and Emerging Centers of Power
(European Union, China, Russia and Japan)

A. LONG QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS EACH QUESTION CARRIES 15 MARKS

Q. 1. Find out the different causes of the Cold War.

Ans. The cold war existed in International politics for a long time due to the desire of both the super powers the USA and the USSR—to establish ideological and political supremacy all over the world. After the mid '80s both countries started showing its disinterest to continue the war. The war during 1989-1991 heralds a turning point in world history. Various internal and external factors explain the sudden collapse of communism in Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Internal Causes :

There are some internal causes for collapse of communism in former Soviet Union. The long-term causes are the most important, like.

1. Structural weaknesses in the Soviet economy.
2. Inflexible Central Soviet planning system.
3. Inefficiency and absence of incentives in agricultural production in former Soviet Union.
4. Inability to modernize.

Some scholars like Richard Crockatt listed some short term causes; such as—

- (a) "Economic stagnation in the 70's and 80's.
- (b) Poor harvests in late 1970s and early 1980s.
- (c) Gorbachev's political and economic reforms."

The former Soviet Union faced severe systematic economic problems which were multiplied during 1980's. The poor economic conditions met the challenges of computer revolution had accentuated her economic problems. Gorbachev's new political and economic reforms like glasnost (openness) and perestroika (political and economic restructuring) were the ultimate reason of destruction of the Soviet Union. There were several reasons of destruction of the Soviet Union, but the main causes are glasnost and perestroika. The main principles of Glasnost are—

- ♦ To promote the right of freedom to criticize.
- ♦ To slacken control on media and publishing.
- ♦ To promote freedom of worship.

Glasnost means the open air. As controls on press, radio, television and film industry were slackened, former Soviet Russian government lost control on public opinion. Gorbachev's reform process recorded the emergence of a newly emerging civil society distinct from the interests of the communist party and the government.

The main principles of Perestroika are—

Formation of new legislature, basically, the non-communist would be allowed to be elected.

Establishment of an executive presidency.

End of the leading role of the communist party. Introduction of new Enterprise law permitting state enterprises to sell part of their products in open market.

Joint ventures law allowing foreign companies to own Soviet enterprises.

In 1987, Gorbachev legalized private farming and business cooperatives. In the election of 1989 the cause of perestroika a large number of communist party candidates were defeated on December, 1991 the United States of Soviet socialist Republics ceased to exist and commonwealth of Independent States came into being. The Soviet Union had been dissolved into separate republics by the end of 1991.

External Causes :

Some scholars find out that cold war came to an end through geo-political commitment and military deterrence. Garthoff maintained that cold war came to an end when a new generation

of Soviet leaders conceived that communist system was working badly. Gorbachev's new approach to foreign relations changed the direction of Soviet foreign policy. The signing of INF Treaty helped in improving Soviet-American relations. Both the internal and external conditions and the interactions between the two quickened the collapse of communism in former Soviet Union.

Q. 2. Explain the causes of the collapse of the USSR.

Ans. (1) The most momentous and world-shaking event of the 1990's having far reaching consequences for the international system and world politics is the dissolution of the Soviet Union whose leaders claimed to have established a socialist society and a historically predestined alternative to capitalist society.

(2) The dissolution of the Soviet Union was the climax of a series of the spectacular, most dramatic and most unbelievable events that took place after the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the American President decided to end the cold war at the two summits of Reikjavik and Washington.

(3) The socialist regimes had disappeared as they lost their legitimacy.

(4) The disappearance demonstrated that the socialist regimes were maintained by state coercion, backed by threat of Soviet intervention.

(5) The administrative state model of socialism, established in the majority of East European countries under the guidance and direction of the Soviet Union, did not withstand the test of time. After Stalin's death USSR faced a crisis of leadership.

(6) Poles raised their voice in 1956 and in the same year Soviet tanks destroyed an anti-communist uprising in Hungary. In 1961, Berlin wall was built to prevent East Germans to go to West Germany, another part of their divided country. The growth of the mass working class movement in Poland since 1970 was met in 1981 by the imposition of Martial Law and the declaration of the ailing Soviet leader Brezhnev of his right to intervene.

(7) The command economy and command polity in the land of "real socialism" had been undergoing changes since 1985. The Soviet system was designed to industrialise a relatively backward and underdeveloped country as rapidly as possible, and it indeed turned the USSR into a major industrial economy

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in a few years and one capable of surviving and winning against Hitlerite Germany.

(8) The Soviet political system was based on a strongly hierarchical and authoritarian single party which monopolised state power, sometimes virtually substituting for the state, operating a centrally planned command economy and imposing a single mandatory Marxist-Leninist ideology on the inhabitants of the country.

(9) The system was however not "totalitarian" as the term came to be used. The de-politicisation of Russian citizenry to such a degree that they remained practically silent spectators to the collapse of the regime before their eyes. Their commitment to the party ideology was not being evidenced by their inability to rise together against Boris Yeltsin, the president out to dismantle the socialist system's root and branch.

(10) In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev the new leader of the CPSU began with the promise of opening a new era in super-power relations through ending of the second cold war which made the Soviet economy bleeding.

(11) The attempt to change the structure of the international system in which the Soviet Union found itself, Gorbachev launched the campaign to transform Soviet socialism with the two slogans of 'perestroika' and 'glasnost'. Inevitably, large parts of the party apparatus greeted reforms with inertia concealing hostility.

(12) The fragmentation of political power and the absence of effective multilateral institutions laid the basis for disorder and political conflict. A rudderless Soviet Union drifted towards disintegration.

(13) The collapse of the Soviet Union signified the ending of an era shaped by the impact of the October Revolution and the beginning of a new era characterized by instability, crisis and uncertainty.

(14) The break-up of the USSR preceded by the collapse of the European communist regimes produced a second reshaping of Europe. The disintegration of the Soviet bloc led to the reestablishment of independent nation-states.

(15) The disintegration of the Soviet Union which removed the supposed 'Soviet threat' to Western Europe brought an end

to a period when political influence of European states was reduced and constrained.

Finally, the United Nations system has undergone a tremendous change. The United Nations has become an instrument of the US policy to establish American hegemony in the world as a result of the absence of the countervailing check of the power of the Soviet Union.

Q. 3. Find out the causes of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

Ans. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe was marked by the destruction of Berlin wall in November, 1989. It was related with changing situation in Soviet Union where it possessed roots of its own collapse.

(1) The nations of Eastern Europe had tested the communist rule for 40 years. The protests against communist rule in Eastern Europe were not new. The Soviet leaders had been forced to recognise national differences.

(2) The policy of Glasnost and Perestroika went a long way. After 1985, the Eastern European communist leaders lost the instrument--the threat of Soviet military intervention.

(3) Disintegration in Poland and Hungary had long history and acquired new stimulus from new policies of Gorbachev.

(4) By the middle of 1988, the opposition in Hungary had forced the removal of the communist party leader. On January 1989 Hungarian Parliament allowed independent parties to contest election.

(5) On April, 1989 an on solidarity party in Poland was repealed and during June, in 1989 the candidates of solidarity party secured victory in Poland.

(6) During September, 1989 Hungary permitted East German refugees to cross into Austria.

(7) On November 3, Czechoslovakia opened border for East German people willing to go to West Germany.

(8) On 10th November, Berlin wall was dismantled.

(9) On 10th November, Bulgarian communist party resigned and on 6th December East German government resigned.

After the collapse of the USSR its close communist regime like Eastern Europe collapsed very fast.

Q. 4. Explain the international system after cold war Era.

Ans. The cold war was an important incident in the world history, by early 1990's it was accepted that 'cold war' is over. But the fact of the matter is that the end of cold war may have signalled a victory for the US as is evident from President Bush's much known hype that "we have won" but at the same time, the World witnessed a fundamental shift in the structure and patterns of international relations. Post cold war scenario has come to be characterized by the return of multipolarity where there is a presence of great powers and small powers. Some scholars also uphold the view that the world has become unipolar with the presence of the sole surviving super power, the United States. On the other hand there are other scholars who profess multipolarity and project the emergence of a five-way balance of power system rotating around the USA, Europe, Japan, China and the present Soviet Union.

After, the end of cold war the bi-polar system totally collapsed and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union has curtailed her power and dignity. Many states and non-state actors take active part in the management of present international system. Joseph Nye has focused multilateral mutual dependence. Both integrating and disintegrating forces are operating. Post cold war era bifurcated into two-state-centric world and multi centric world. That has led to multilayer governance. Military power, though not a salient feature of world politics in the post cold war scenario still continues to be the most reliable technique serving the interest of the big and powerful states. The war on Terror, being carried out by the US initially against Afghanistan and thereafter against Iraq post 9/11, show that the use of military power is still important and its use by the reigning superpower and its allies to the protection of their own interest is the rule of the day.

The rich European States formed a security community to reduce the chance of conflicts among them. Iraq war has breached America's relations with France, Russia and Germany. The new world order has exposed the asymmetry between political-military power and economic power. Japan in spite of her enormous economic power, has not initiated positive move to reassert her as dominant military power. The post cold war

era has recorded growing economic discrepancy developing nations have been marginalized in the new world order. NAM has emerged after the cold war and it developed its relevance as post cold war era. The cold war has been replaced by economic war. From economic perspective the world has been described as multi-polar. The end of cold war developed liberal capitalism all over the world. The capitalist states impose certain principles—open trade, liberal import, privatization as pre-conditions for granting loans and aids. Globalization has initiated sharp debates about under development and poverty. Globalization also highlighted people's awareness and consciousness about disparity between developed and underdeveloped states for reducing subsidies on certain domestic sectors. They insist on free movement of capital but regulate free movement of labour with their own countries. Due to this economic competitions, many developing countries get locked in serious economic competitions among themselves.

Post cold war era introduced rapid proliferation of nuclear arms and increasing arms sales. Ethnic rivalries-civil wars and inter-state conflicts have led to division and disintegration of a number of states. The modern world witness rapid growth of many supra-national, international and voluntary organizations. The civil societies at national and global levels have acquired currency. The world is worried over the rise of religious fundamentalism in different regions of the world. International terrorism, militant activities and criminal offences have been multiplied. The dangers increased manifold as there are chances of the terrorist outfits of getting access to the nukes, especially in the "failed states" where there is a lack of quality governance and government is weak to control the polity as well as the nuclear establishments.

Q. 5. Explain the origin, objectives and development of the European Union.

Ans. The European Union (EU) founded on 1st November 1993 was formerly known as the European Community or the European Economic Community. European Union created for better economic, political and social cooperation among the member countries. During the last decade, the European Union emerged as the world's major trading bloc and as an economic

giant. The total strength of EU is 25. With the joining of more countries on May 2004, the population of EU increased from 370 millions to 450 millions. The official language of EU increased from 11 to 20. The development of a single economic entity was the introduction of common currency called Euro. The Euro not only unified economic strength of the member states, but also a project to do away with the US dollar's domination in world market. But, all the member states have not accepted the Euro.

Objectives of the EU :

Some major objectives of the EU are as follows :

Establishing European citizenship.

Ensuring freedom, security and justice.

Promoting economic and social progress.

Asserting Europe's role in the world, common positions within international transactions.

Development :

The EU's most important achievement has been its customs union.

The six members abolished tariffs and quotas on goods from the other five member countries.

They also adopted a common external tariff on goods from the rest of the world.

As Jacob Vines pointed out in a classic analysis of trade whether the participating countries benefit from their customs union depends on whether it creates additional trade or simply diverts trade away from the rest of the world.

The EU members resemble one another economically more than they resemble the rest of the world.

Q. 6. Why EU regards as the center of power?

Ans. EU has a long history since its formation with the Maastricht Treaty of 1993.

□ Different new members have joined the organization, many new policies and programmes were under taken.

□ A few more treaties were signed by member states to meet new challenges faced by the EU.

□ Amsterdam Treaty in 1996 was very much significant, the treaty focussed on sustainable development of the environment and protection of consumer rights.

□ The treaty of Nice came into force in 2003 wanted to make the union more efficient and streamlined.

□ The Lisbon Treaty came into effect in December 2009, has given more power to the European Parliament and the European court of Justice.

□ The Lisbon Treaty made some reforms of EU these are : a more democratic and transparent Europe; a more efficient Europe; A Europe of rights and values, freedom, solidarity and security, Europe as an actor on the global stage.

□ Today's EU is an economic power house. The Euro within a decade of its introduction in 1999 has become one of the strongest currencies in the world.

□ The success of the EU in achieving economic integration in the continent could be ascertained from the fact that more and more countries are showing interest in joining it.

□ There are some grey areas within the European Union. In May 2007, unemployment in the union stood at 7 percent and public deficit 0.9% of GDP.

□ There is the concern that this organization is largely dependent on other countries like Russia.

□ The financial crisis in Greece in 2010 also pose challenges to the EU.

□ Differences between France and Germany over the ways to resolve this crisis, and EU's role in this matter, made the EU appear like a disunited organization.

Q. 7. Evaluated the Future of the Union.

Ans. □ The manifestation of European union to unified Europe. But at the same time, it is also true that Europe could never be unified politically or economically despite several attempts. The idea of a unified Europe had always remained out of bounds. This dichotomy leads one to ponder over the future of the EU, its acceptability in all parts of the continent and its possible challenges.

□ It was a long journey to transfer EEC to EU.

□ The introduction of a customs union or a common currency faced several hurdles. The Euro has not been accepted by several member states, notable among them are Britain, Denmark and Sweden, considered as a leading economies in Europe.

☐ This poses a challenge to the concept of a single monetary Union in the EU.

☐ Politically, Russia's lukewarm response to be a part of the European Union may prove to be a serious hurdle in its march to the East.

☐ Russia does not join eventually, the union's dream of a unified Europe would get a severe jolt, not only politically but also economically.

☐ The EU's slow progress in achieving a unified military command and a common foreign policy highlights the unwillingness of member-states to place it above national interest.

☐ These challenges faced by the EU, it must be remembered that it is not a super national organization.

☐ The EU is also considering a proposal under the Lisbon Treaty to allow members to withdraw from the organization.

☐ Besides its goal of economic integration of Europe, it has also been focusing on socio-political-cultural, educational, scientific and environmental development of the "Eurozone" that consists of territories of member-states.

☐ The success of the European Union as an economic organization is attracting both non-members and third parties other parts of the world.

☐ But Bre-Exist is an unsuccessful nature of EU.

Q. 8. Explain why China is an emergence centre of power after cold war.

Ans. Professor Friedman says, "The emergence of China as a unified national power under communist leadership is the most important international event of recent years." China's introduction among the Great Powers was a revolutionary, epoch-making development. During 1990's China pursued neo-realist policies and defined her national interests not only in terms of military power but in terms of political, economic and cultural leverages. In the decade of 90's China has recognized multipolarity and multipolar division of the world community. China rejected its past policy and acknowledges inter-dependence nature of the world economy and the need to take advantages of the current international economic network. China pursues a more open door policy and the relative weight of ideology,

morality and justice decreased. She heavily depends on world financial organizations for carrying on her modernization programme. Several recent events have provoked the latest announcements of China's looming ascent to super power stature and have suggested that these long-held expectations are at long last coming true. In the international paradigm China has a long way to go to rival the power in international affairs of the United States in the manner that the Soviet Union did.

The term super power, global power popularised after the 1st and World War. The two states USA and USSR was recognised as super powers. The basic components of superpower stature may be measured along four axes of power : military, economic, political and cultural. Using these dimensions, Britain was the proto type super power in the 19th century. The United States succeeded Britain as the world's second super power as an immediate consequences of World War II. America's global economic strength reflected its longstanding prominence in maritime commerce and especially maturation of its enormous industrial capacity. Since, the end of the cold war, the United States has enjoyed a period of dominance in international affairs that rivals its position immediately after World War II. Debate about American dominance was questioned and its limits of dominance was also questioned. The rise of United Europe and perhaps China and other centers of power, suggest to some that American dominance may be more a unipolar moment than a 'new American Century.'

The USSR was a Eurasian continental power, not a super power, at the end of World War II. At the end of the war it had like the United States, twelve million troops under arms. The rise of Soviet power abroad seemed to be confirmed at home with impressive economic growth rates throughout the 1950s and to a lesser degree, in the 1960's. With the historical examples of Britain and the Soviet Union and USA, China is also bearing the potential features of the superpower.

China's Economic Power : The expanding range of China's economic interaction has provoked the most recent attention to China as an emerging superpower.

☐ China's GDP makes it a member in the cast of industrialized economics but it is still a long way from economic superpower

stature. In 2003, China's GDP by exchange rate measures totaled US\$ 1.159 trillion and ranked sixth in the world.

□ China has indeed become an important trading nation, but it still ranks well behind other major economies. In 2003, China ranked ninth, supplying 3.5% of the world's exports.

□ China's economic successes are impressive enough and deserve attention. The high proportion of China's economy occupied by its exports makes it sensitive to the ups and downs of the international economy.

□ China's Military Power : Since, 1985, China has pursued a concentrated programme of military modernization that has attracted attention and since the mid-1990's generated controversy. China increased her budget for defense allocation. Since 1989, China is developing a new generation of strategic and tactical missiles, some of which are deployed on the Chinese coast facing Taiwan. China's military modernization programs appear focussed on several priorities :

□ Acquiring 'green-water' naval and air support capacities to defend China's coastal provinces, now the geo-graphical backbone of China's industrial economy.

□ Establishing credible military capacities to win conflicts quickly and decisively on China's long land borders in Asia, where the PRC still has several unresolved boundary disputes.

□ Maintaining credible capacities to defend China in what is arguably the most heavily militarized region of the world.

□ Developing credible military power to compel resolution of the Taiwan question either politically or by outright military force, even in the event of American intervention on Taipei's behalf, and of PRC claims in the South China Sea on terms acceptable to Beijing.

□ Preserving the credibility of China's second strike deterrent against a strategic first strike.

□ Most of the China's military modernization programs are intelligible as addressed at these priorities. China's navy over the last two decades has increasingly shown its flag in foreign ports around the world. China has demonstrated a capacity since the early 1980's to deploy a ballistic missile submarine and to fire a missile from it. Chinese military developments deserve vigilance in the broader context of an going military modernization efforts throughout Asia, but not alarm.

□ China's Political and Soft Power : China's political influence has grown over the past 3 decades.

□ China's international prestige and political influence grew Dengxiaoping's reforms in the 1980's transformed China's economy and its relationship to the world.

□ The PRC's seat as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council is perhaps its asset of greatest leverage in international politics.

□ Beijing has preached the gospel of "multipolarity" in international politics and sought to promote. Strategic partnerships with other centers of power to balance against American hegemony.

□ Beijing's political influence and soft power abroad is incomparably limited. No other country seeks to follow China's political model.

□ End of the cold war China has had some political success in collaborating with other Asian countries.

□ China's culture has long fascinated the West and China today has become a major tourist attraction.

By analysing all the features, China is not now a super power, nor is it likely to emerge as one soon. It is establishing itself as a great power, on par with Great Britain, Russia, Japan, and perhaps, India. China's rise over the past two decades has been spectacular from any perspective and deserves attention and respect, especially in view of the modern world since the nineteenth century.

Q. 9. Do you think Russia is an emerging power center after cold war? Explain.

Ans. The Russian Federation, the largest country in the contemporary world, emerged after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. Russia is a little over half the size of the Soviet Union and less than half of its population. Take away economy, ideology and Soviet military. According to wikipedia a great power or a superpower is a state with a dominant position in international relations and which is characterized by its unparalleled ability to exert influence or project power on a global scale. A fundamental features of a super power is that it has mastered the seven dimensions of a statepower, geography, populations economy, resources, military, diplomacy and national identity."

The future state Russia's sea gained the status as a superpower can therefore be examined along with those seven features.

(1) **Geography** : Russia is huge, actually it is the largest country in the world by land area, and will continue to stay. It occupies over 17 million square kilometers or one sixth of the total world land mass. Geography by itself clearly puts Russia in a super power status.

(2) **Population** : Russian population is about 145 million, consisting of 185 diverse ethnic groups, 81% of population is Russian. The Russian language is homogeneous throughout the country. Russian is the most geographically widespread language of Eurasia.

(3) **Economy** : Russian economy is in a down cycle right now, resulting from the western sanctions and decline of revenue due to oil and gas price decline. GDP estimates for 2016 from variety of sources is about \$ 3.7 trillion, which puts Russia in 6th place in the world. In 2017 a slight growth of Russian economy made a positive approach of the World Bank and IMF.

□ Russian Federation defense spending has spurred the growth of the military related sectors.

□ Agriculture has a boom year thanks to counter-sanctions prohibiting imports of products from Europe.

□ More importantly in the beginning of 2016 the US company Bloomberg has rated Russia's economy. Bloomberg has rated Russia's economy as the 12th most innovative in the world 2015.

□ Russia has the world's 15th highest patent application rate, the 8th highest concentration of hightech public companies.

(4) **Resources** : Russia's geography is the key factor in the determination of its resource base? With some sources estimating that Russia contains over 30% of all the world's natural resources.

(5) **Military** : Russia is in the multi-year process of overhauling its military. It is the second largest military power in the world and probably first in nuclear arsenal. In 2016 Russia has doubled the value of the export of weaponry up to \$45 billion, as a direct result of demonstrating their capabilities in the syrian conflict.

(6) **Diplomacy** : Russia is an active member of BRICS, SCO, G20. Russian diplomats are among the best in the world and

quietly and consistently play a vital role in the transition of the world order from unipolar to multipolar.

(7) **National identity** : Some scholars call Russia an "ideological midjet" ever since Russia abandoned the Soviet socialist ideology that had spread around the world at some time, but had not presented an ideological substitute. Russian cultural traditions literature, music, cinema, ballet are among the richest in the world. Russian have a strong national identity. Russian national identity and patriotism is not an ideology.

Analysing these features Russia is not a super power along. But it is an emerging power.

Q. 10. Explain Japan as an emerging power after cold war.

Ans. The rise of Japan as an economic power in the international political economy is one of the most spectacular developments since the Second World War. Japan continue to abstain from playing a major role in the new conditions of the post-cold War World. The post war international setting and Japan's unique place in this arrangement provided further advantages for its success.

First, demilitarisation of the country and the prohibition of rearmament diverted skills capital and energy once spent on war preparations to civilian sectors.

Second, Japanese firms gained access to the most advanced technologies at a limited cost by making licensing arrangements with American companies.

Finally, Japan's success in checking its population growth relieved the economy of population pressure.

How Japan evolved to take second place in the world among so many contending countries, some scholars tend to look at the domestic structure of the Japan, especially the role of the state in economic management. Its capitalistic economy and democratic polity, the government plays a significant role in running economy. Chalmers Johnson, a leading scholar on East Asia, described the Japanese style of state-economy relations as being "soft authoritarianism" characterised by the existence of a strong state and capitalist economy. Paul Kennedy in his famous book. Preparing for the 21st century finds some common

distinguishing features with East Asia's fast growing states for which Japan serves a role model.

(1) Their most well known feature is their commitment to education. Based on Confucian traditions.

(2) The second characteristic is a high level of national savings.

(3) Japan has a strong political system with limited liberties and a commitment to exports, as opposed to the import substitution model that many developing countries employed in the post war years.

Many scholars projected Japan as a new model for developing countries, some worried about the rise of a strong Japan in Asia again and still others saw it as a new potential hegemony ready to take over the United States role in the twenty-first century. However in the last decade Japan's newly acquired leadership status in overseas investments and in foreign aid, its huge financial resources, the sheer size of its GNP have been a subject matter in scholarly circles and in the power centres of the world. It was as a direct result of some important developments in the international political economy. Japan's ascendancy to second place in the world economic table has come with the erosion of the US's hegemonic status in the world. In the past five decades Japan has evolved to become one of the great powers among the nations of the world. The rise of Japan as an economic power has not been accompanied by a comparable rise in its international political and strategic weight.

B. SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M-10

Q. 1. Explain the internal causes of the end of the cold war.

Ans. Internal Causes :

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Joint ventures law allowing foreign companies to own Soviet enterprises.

In 1987, Gorbachev legalized private farming and business cooperatives. In the election of 1989 the cause of perestroika a large number of communist party candidates were defeated on December, 1991 the United States of Soviet socialist Republics ceased to exist and commonwealth of Independent States came into being. The Soviet Union had been dissolved into separate republics by the end of 1991.

Q. 2. Find out the principles of perestroika.

Ans. (1) Formation of new legislature—2/3 of members would be elected by people's vote.

(2) Establishment of an executive presidency.

(3) End of the leading role of the communist party.

(4) Introduction of new Enterprise Law permitting state enterprises to sell part of their products in open market.

(5) Joint ventures law allowing foreign companies to own Soviet enterprises.

In, 1987, Gorbachev legalized private forming and business cooperatives.

Q. 3. Write down the external cause of the end of the cold war.

Ans. The cold war came to an end through geo-political commitment and military deterrence. But some authors rejected the proposition that cold war was won by Reagan's military build-up. Garthoff maintained that cold war came to an end when a new generation of Soviet leaders conceived that communist system was working badly. Gorbachev's new approach to foreign relations changed the direction of Soviet foreign policy. The signing of INF Treaty helped in improving Soviet American relations.

Q. 4. Explain the policy of Glasnost.

Ans. Glasnost means open air. Gorbachev wanted to introduce this sense of openness into the Soviet Society and politics, which were considered to be rigid and closed. Freedom of speech and expression were believed to be absent in the Soviet society. Under Glasnost, freedom of speech and expression in the truest sense of the term, was allowed to the Soviet people. Under this policy to operate outside state control. As a result different different views and views, other than those wished by the government, started to reach the Soviet society. Under the impact of Glasnost, all kinds of change took place in the Soviet society. Free speech and free media allowed distress voices, suppressed so far, to speak against party bureaucracy Glasnost paved the way for the creation of a liberal society and a multi-party democracy, and the end of the one-party rule was imminent.

Q. 5. "Why Gorbachev showed his disinclination to continue the cold war?"

Ans. (1) The Soviet economy was in shambles during the mid 1980's, when Gorbachev assumed power and was in no way capable of continuing the cold war. Gorbachev was quick to realize this and had to signal the end of the war.

(2) It could be assumed that the 'star wars' strategy of American President Ronald Reagan had de-motivating effects on the Soviet Union. Gorbachev realized that it would be impossible to match American expenses on cold war because of Soviet engagements in Afghanistan and the poor shape of the Soviet economy.

(3) The closed incapacitated Soviet economy would have in any case crumbled with or without the ones of the cold war. This uncomfortable situation led Gorbachev to initiate Perestroika to instil life in the Soviet economy and discontinue the cold war.

Q. 6. Find out the cause of break-down of East-European communism.

Ans. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe was marked by the destruction of Berlin wall in November, 1989. It was related with changing situation in Soviet Union it possessed roots of its own collapse.

(1) The nations of Eastern Europe had tested the communist rule for 40 years. The protests against communist rule in Eastern Europe were not new. The Soviet leader had been forced to recognise national differences.

(2) The policy of Glasnost and Perestroika went a long way. After 1985, the Eastern European communist leaders lost the instrument the threat of Soviet military intervention.

(3) Disintegration in Poland, and Hungary had long history and acquired new stimulus from new policies of Gorbachev.

(4) By the middle of 1988, the opposition in Hungary had forced the removal of the communist party leader. On January 1989 Hungarian Parliament allowed independent parties to contest election.

(5) On April, 1989 lean on solidarity party in Poland was repealed and during June, in 1989 the candidates of solidarity party secured victory in Poland.

(6) During September, 1989 Hungary permitted East German refugees to cross into Austria.

(7) On November 3, Czechoslovakia opened border for East German people willing to go to West Germany.

(8) On 10th November, Berlin wall was dismantled.

(9) On 10th November, Bulgarian communist party resigned and 6th December East German government resigned.

After the collapse of the USSR its close communist regime like Eastern Europe collapsed very fast.

Q. 7. Is the world strictly unipolar today?

Ans. There are some powers in the international order which can pose a challenge to the superiority of the US. China is believed by many to be one such power. It has a very strong military, the second strongest in the world. The European Union is also surging ahead despite different odds. Russia has inherited most of the military might of former Soviet Union. A United Germany has the potential to be a power to notice. International politics is ever-changing, it is dynamic. It had never accelerated by any particular order as permanent. After the World War II, international political system faced bi-polar world. After the cold war bi-polar world system shifted into unipolar world structure. But there are some powers, as has been just mentioned which can pose a threat to the US supremacy. All this makes the current international order loaded with multipolar characteristics, where more than one power may exercise influence in world politics. New pink waves of latin American countries like Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia develop a new international world order which is not unipolar, nor bi-polar but obviously multipolar.

Q. 8. Explain the commission of the European Communities.

Ans. This is the executive wing of the EU. It is a body composed of one appointee from each state and at present there are 27 commissioners. The commission is designed to be independent of national interests. This body also has the responsibility of dealing with the day to day running of the EU. The commission is led by a president who is nominated by the council, in practice the European council and approved by the European Parliament.

Q. 9. Explain the council of the European Union.

Ans. The Council of the European Union is the principal decision-making institution of the EU. It is often informally called the Council of Ministers or just the council. It is the more powerful of the two legislative chambers, the other being the European Parliament. The Council is composed of 27 national ministers. The exact membership depends on the topic being discussed. The EU's law is limited to specific policy areas. EU operates on supranational and inter governmental platforms, in some areas the council is superior to the parliament, having only to consult in order to get assent from the body.

Q. 10. Find out the major reforms of the EU introduced by Lisbon Treaty.

Ans. (1) A more democratic and transparent Europe : The treaty has provided for a strengthened role for the European Parliament and national parliaments, more opportunities for citizens to have their voices heard and a clearer sense of who does what at European and national levels. For the first time, the possibility for a member-state to withdraw from the union.

(2) A more efficient Europe : The treaty, with simplified working methods and voting rules, streamlined modern institutions for a EU of 27 members and an improved ability to act in areas of priority for today's union.

(iii) A Europe of rights and values, freedom solidarity and security are ensuring better protection of European citizens.

(iv) Europe as an actor on the global stage. It harnesses Europe's economic, humanitarian, political and diplomatic strengths to promote European interests and values worldwide, while respecting particular interests of the member-states in foreign affairs.

Q. 11. Do you think EU is relevance in today's international political system? Justify your answer.

Ans. ☐ The manifestation of European union to unified Europe. But at the same time, it is also true that Europe could never be unified politically or economically despite several attempts. The idea of a unified Europe had always remained out of bounds. This dichotomy leads one to ponder over the future of the EU, its acceptability in all parts of the continent and its possible challenges.

□ It was a long journey to transfer EEC to EU.

□ The introduction of a customs union or a common currency faced several hurdles. The Euro has not been accepted by several member states, notable among them are Britain, Denmark and Sweden, considered as a leading economist in Europe.

□ This poses a challenge to the concept of a single monetary Union in the EU.

□ Politically, Russia's lukewarm response to be a part of the European Union may prove to be a serious hurdle in its march to the East.

□ Russia does not join eventually, the union's dream of a unified Europe would get a severe jolt, not only politically but also economically.

□ The EU's slow progress in achieving a unified military command and a common foreign policy highlights the unwillingness of member-states to place it above national interest.

□ These challenges faced by the EU, it must be remembered that it is not a super national organization.

□ The EU is also considering a proposal under the Lisbon Treaty to allow members to withdraw from the organization.

□ Besides its goal of economic integration of Europe, it has also been focusing on socio-political-cultural, educational, scientific and environmental development of the "Eurozone" that consists of territories of member-states.

□ The success of the European Union as an economic organization is attracting both non-members and third parties other parts of the world.

□ But Bre-Exist is an unsuccessful nature of EU.

Q. 12. Do you think Japan as an emerging center of power?

Ans. The rise of Japan as an economic power in the international political economy is one of the most spectacular developments since the Second World War. Japan continues to abstain from playing a major role in the new conditions of the post-cold War World. The post war international setting and Japan's unique place in this arrangement provided further advantages for its success.

First, demilitarisation of the country and the prohibition of rearmament diverted skills capital and energy once spent on war preparations to civilian sectors.

Second, Japanese firms gained access to the most advanced technologies at a limited cost by making licensing arrangements with American companies.

Finally, Japan's success in checking its population growth relieved the economy of population pressure.

How Japan evolved to take second place in the world among so many contending countries, some scholars tend to look at the domestic structure of the Japan, especially the role of the state in economic management. Its capitalistic economy and democratic polity, the government plays a significant role in running economy. Chalmers Johnson, a leading scholar on East Asia, described the Japanese style of state-economy relations as being "soft authoritarianism" characterised by the existence of a strong state and capitalist economy. Paul Kennedy in his famous book. Preparing for the 21st century finds some common distinguishing features with East Asia's fast growing states for which Japan serves a role model.

(1) Their most well known feature is their commitment to education. Based on Confucian traditions.

(2) The second characteristic is a high level of national savings.

(3) Japan has a strong political system with limited liberties and a commitment to exports, as opposed to the import substitution model that many developing countries employed in the post war years.

Many scholars projected Japan as a new model for developing countries, some worried about the rise of a strong Japan in Asia again and still others saw it as a new potential hegemony ready to take over the United States role in the twenty-first century. However in the last decade Japan's newly acquired leadership states in overseas investments and in foreign aid, its huge financial resources, the sheer size of its GNP have been a subject matter in scholarly circles and in the power centres of the world. It was as a direct result of some important developments in the international political economy. Japan's ascendancy to second place in the world economic table has come with the erosion of the US's hegemonic status in the

world. In the past five decades Japan has evolved to become one of the great powers among the nations of the world. The rise of Japan as an economic power has not been accompanied by a comparable rise in its international political and strategic weight.

Q. 13. Why Britain exist from the EU?

Or, What Brexit?

Ans. Brexit was the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. In 2016 June referendum in which 52% voted to leave and 48% voted to stay, the UK government formally announced the country's withdrawal in March 2017, beginning the Brexit process. The withdrawal was delayed by deadlock in the UK parliament. The parliament ratified the withdrawal agreement, and the UK left the EU at 11 p.m GMT on 31st January 2020. This began a transition period that is set to end on 31st December 2020, during which the UK and EU will negotiate their future relationship the UK remains to subject to EU law and remains part of the EU customs union and single market during the transition, but is no longer part of the EU's political bodies or institutions. Withdrawal was advocated by Euro sceptics and opposed by pro-Europeanists, with both spanning the political spectrum. The UK joined EC and EEC and continued to her membership in EU. On 29 March 2017 the UK government formally began the withdrawal process by invoking Article 50 of the treaty on EU with permission from parliament.

Many effects of Brexit depend on how closely the UK will be tied to the EU, or whether the transition period ends without terms being agreed. The broad consensus among economists is that Brexit will likely harm the UK's economy and reduce its real per capita income in the long term, and that the referendum itself damaged the economy. Brexit is likely to reduce immigration from European Economic Area countries to the UK and poses challenges for UK higher Education, academic research and security. Brexit, EU law and the EU court of Justice no longer have supremacy over UK laws or its Supreme Court, except to a temporary extent. The EU Act 2018 retains relevant EU laws as domestic law, which the UK could then amend or repeal.

C. VERY SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M.-1

Q. 1. What is the meaning of 'Glasnost'?

Ans. Glasnost means 'open air'.

Q. 2. What is the meaning of 'Perestroika'?

Ans. 'Perestroika' means economic reforms.

Q. 3. Which two policies applied by Gorbachev?

Ans. Glasnost and Perestroika.

Q. 4. Who applied Glasnost and Perestroika?

Ans. The last USSR President Gorbachev.

Q. 5. In which year USSR collapsed?

Ans. In the year 1991.

Q. 6. In which year cold war ended?

Ans. In the year 1991.

Q. 7. Mention one internal cause of the end of the cold war.

Ans. Inflexible central Soviet planning system.

Q. 8. What was the formation of new legislature of USSR.

Ans. The formation of new legislature 2/3 of members would be elected by people's vote. The non-communists would be allowed to be elected.

Q. 9. In which year Gorbachev legalized private farming and business cooperatives?

Ans. In 1987.

Q. 10. In which year Lithuania declared independence?

Ans. In 1990.

Q. 11. How many members are at present in EU?

Ans. 26 members.

Q. 12. In which year EU formed?

Ans. In 1993.

Q. 13. In which country initiated to the formation of EU.

Ans. Copenhagen.

Q. 14. In which year Lisbon treaty introduced?

Ans. In 2009.

Q. 15. Mention one reformation of Lisbon Treaty.

Ans. A more efficient Europe.

Q. 16. What is Euro?

Ans. Euro is the currency of the European countries.

Q. 17. In which year Euro introduced?

Ans. In 1999.

Q. 18. Which treaty helped to form the EU?

Ans. The Maastricht Treaty.

Q. 19. In which year Maastricht Treaty signed?

Ans. In 1993.

Q. 20. In which year Amsterdam Treaty signed?

Ans. In 1996.

Q. 21. Which are the three pillars of the EU.

Ans. European Council, Council of Ministers and European Commission.

Q. 22. Which organization Unified Europe in first time?

Ans. European coal and steel community.

Q. 23. Which treaty formed ECSC in which year?

Ans. Treaty of Paris on 18th April 1951.

Q. 24. Which treaty formed EEC and Euratom?

Ans. Treaties of Rome in 1957.

Q. 25. What is full form of EEC?

Ans. European Economic community.

Q. 26. In which year the European currency unit introduced?

Ans. In 1978.

Q. 27. In which year Brexit happened?

Ans. Britain withdrew their membership from EU in 2017.

Q. 28. Under whose leadership China reform herself?

Ans. Under the leadership of Deng-xenping.

Q. 29. Under whose leadership Russia recognise as an international power?

Ans. Under Putin's leadership.

Q. 30. Mention two causes why Japan is emerging as a center of power.

Ans. (1) The education system of Japan and

(2) The high level of national savings.

D. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F. M.-1

Q. 1. The end of cold war was—

(a) 1989 (b) 1990 (c) 1993 (d) 1992

Ans. (b)

Q. 2. The USSR collapsed on—

(a) 1989 (b) 1990 (c) 1991 (d) 1992.

Ans. (c)

Q. 3. Glasnost means—

(a) Open air, (b) free air (c) closed air (d) middle air.

Ans. (a)

Q. 4. Perestroika means—

(a) Political reform (b) economic reform (c) media reform and (d) Societal reform.

Ans. (b)

Q. 5. Glasnost applied by—

(a) Stalin (b) Putin (c) Lenin (d) Gorbachev.

Ans. (d)

Q. 6. The end of cold war international world order is—

(a) Unipolar (b) bi-polar (c) multi-polars (d) none of these.

Ans. (c)

Q. 7. China becomes a super power after—

(a) 1970's (b) 1980's (c) 1990's (d) 2000.

Ans. (b)

Q. 8. EU formed under the—

(a) Treaty of Rome (b) Treaty of Paris (c) Treaty of Maastricht (d) Treaty of Lisbon.

Ans. (c)

Q. 9. Before EU the European organization was—

(a) EEC (b) ECSC (c) Au (d) OPEC.

Ans. (b)

Q. 10. ECSC formed due to—

(a) Treaty of Paris (b) Treaty of Lisbon (c) Treaty of Rome and (d) Treaty of Amsterdam.

Ans. (a)

Q. 11. EU established in the year of—

(a) 1993 (b) 1957 (c) 1967 (d) 1984.

Ans. (a)

Q. 12. China becomes a superpower under the leadership of—

(a) Mao (b) Deng-xenping (c) Stalin and (d) Lenin.

Ans. (b)

Q. 13. Russia becomes a super power under the leadership of—

- (a) Marx (b) Putin (c) Yeletsin (d) Gorbachev.

Ans. (b)

Q. 14. Japan's GNP is more than—

- (a) USA (b) Russia (c) India and (d) Phillipines.

Ans. (a)

Q. 15. Brexit appealed on—

- (a) 2016 (b) 2017 (c) 2018 (d) 2019.

Ans. (b)

Q. 16. "The cold war may be regarded as a sparring match between the giant states, a succession of moves and counter-moves"—as observed by (Heartmann/Frankel/Organski).

Ans. Frankel.

Q. 17. "Cold war was a war between two ideologies (Capitalism and Communism"—said by (Dulles/Stalin/K.P.S. Menon).

Ans. K. P. S. Menon.

Q. 18. Mention one cause for the emergence of the cold war.

Ans. Bitter criticism of the capitalist system.

Q. 19. The cold war started in (1947/1948/1949).

Ans. 1947.

Q. 20. The cold war ended in (1990/1991/1993).

Ans. 1991.

MODULE - II



INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

- (a) Basic Determinants (Historical, Geo-Political, Economic, Domestic and Strategic);
- (b) India's Policy of Non-Alignment;
- (c) India as emerging Power

A. LONG QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS EACH QUESTION CARRIES 15 MARKS

Q. 1. Explain the determinants of India's foreign policy.

Ans. India's foreign policy have been shaped by India's historical experiences, her national traditions distinct philosophy of life and idealistic visions. India being reluctant to join the cold war rivalries charted her independent, non-aligned foreign policy. Such unique foreign policy soon enjoyed popularity among other new nations of the world. India's foreign policy may be said to represent a unique blend of idealism and realism. It has been determined by the interplay of a large number of factors like history, geography, economic development, personalities and political circumstances, domestic milieu as well as international setting etc.

(1) **Historical background** : India has played a very crucial role as the champion of World Peace and Harmony. India believes that wars can never be the proper solution for all the problems in this world. India is convinced that all the problems should be solved by negotiations between nations. India's Ashoka Chakra is the symbol of humanity, love, peace, goodwill and toleration. India has realised that lasting peace in the world can only be

achieved when all nations big and small have full access for all round development.

(2) Geo-political Factors : India is situated in a strategic part of Asia set in the centre of Indian ocean with close connections with West-Asia, South-East Asia and East-Asia. India's central location on the main trade routes between Europe and Far-East India also offers strategic air routes. Again, bordered on the north by the world's highest mountains, the country is protected from winter cold of the north and that has denied it easy communication with inner Asia. India's command over Indian ocean remains vital for her security interests and trade transactions.

India's foreign policy bears the imprint of her political tradition and history. The roots of India's foreign policy can be traced to her age-old civilization national independence movement and Gandhian philosophy "Prof. Jayantanuj Bandopadhyay conclude India's political tradition as follower—(a) Idealist view of politics and power with emphasis on peace and non-violence; (b) Idealist approach to internationalism; (c) Anti imperialism and Asianism.

(3) Economic Factors : The goal of attainment of self reliance in the economic sphere characterises an important feature of India's foreign policy. Immediately after independence India adopted a policy of planned economic development. Widespread poverty and economic underdevelopment call for rapid economic growth and economic prosperity peace has been adored as the minimum pre-condition for her economic development. The diplomacy of economic development prompted India to avoid entanglement with any power block and to promote friendly relations with all economic groups.

(4) Domestic Factors : India's foreign policy is shaped by her own national interests. The Indian foreign policy has been characterised by a significant extent of stability since her independence. Indian people are ready to accept truth inherent in any ideology. The people accept liberal democratic principle. India's policy of non-alignment, anti imperialist posture and anti racial attitude received widespread public approval.

(5) Strategic Factors : India's common borders with her immediate neighbours and their foreign policy programme have affected India's foreign policy and its orientation. During the

post cold war era changing paradigms of world's politics call for new foreign policy initiatives.

Q. 2. Explain the objectives of India's foreign policy.

Ans. According to Prof. K.J. Holsti assumes that the foreign policy of a sovereign state has three goals like—core objectives, middle range goals, (c) universal long-range goals. India is concerned with preservation of her independence and sovereignty.

(1) The concept of national interest is rather ambiguous. It entails preservation of national security by safe guarding territorial integrity and national sovereignty. India's foreign policy puts priority on rapid economic development.

(2) India's foreign policy pledges to promote international peace and security. India fervently appeals for universal and non-discriminatory disarmament.

(3) India welcomes national liberation struggles of all colonies. India's foreign policy sharply opposes imperialism and its manifestations.

(4) India's foreign policy vehemently opposes racism and its practices.

(5) Indian foreign policy prefers peaceful and political solution of all international disputes.

(6) India pins faith on sacred principle of peaceful co-existence. India proclaims her commitment to Panchsheel.

(7) India aspires to forge unity and solidarity among developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

(8) Indian foreign policy is committed to the ideal of non-alignment. India resolved to avoid entanglement with any power block associated with cold war rivalries and to preserve her freedom of activities.

(9) Indian foreign policy aspires to secure a democratic and more egalitarian world order.

(10) To follow the principle of non-alignment.

Q. 3. Explain the meaning and objectives of NAM.

Ans. After the end of the Second World War saw a new international order not known to the world earlier. Some newly independent nation-states showed greater inclination to maintain their autonomy outside bloc politics. Prominent among these newly-independent developing countries was India, which

rejected the idea of joining any bloc after the Second World War. Jawaharlal Nehru the first Prime Minister of India was opposed to militarism and preferred relying more on the age-old Indian traditions of non-violence and peaceful cooperation among nation-states. He was joined by Indonesian President Sukarno and Egyptian President Nasser, and they endeavoured to create a world free of bloc politics and military alignments. The NAM emerged and gathered strength in world politics after the Second World War.

Objectives of NAM : The leaders of 25 non-aligned countries met at the Belgrade conference in 1961 to create an independent path in world politics that would shield them from becoming pawns in the struggle between the major powers. The non-aligned countries based their decisions and activities.

(1) Peace and disarmament, especially the reduction of tensions between the major powers.

(2) Independence, including the right of self-determination of all colonial peoples and the right of equality between all races.

(3) Economic equality, with an emphasis on restructuring the existing international economic order, particularly with respect to the growing and persistent inequality between the rich and the poor nations.

(4) Cultural equality, with an emphasis on restructuring the world information and communication order, and opposing cultural imperialism and the western monopoly of information systems.

(5) Universalism and multilateralism through strong support for the United Nations system.

These objectives have been the underlying guidelines of the NAM.

Q. 4. Write down the basic features of NAM.

Ans. The basic features of NAM are :

(1) Though NAM emerged in the context of decolonisation of internal politics, it was not the result of, as many Western writers believe, the cold war.

(2) Non-alignment is an expression of the struggle of the new nations for strengthening their independence. It is a continuation of the decolonisation process started in 1947. The NAM is closely associated with nationalism and anti-nationalism which provided

the basic drive in the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa since the end of the Second World War.

(3) Western imperialism should not therefore be allowed to return in any form whatever. NAM is more anti-Western than anti-Soviet.

(4) NAM is not committed to any particular ideology. It is characterised by ideological and functional diversity. It is not based on the basis of power in any manner but on the basis of peaceful co-existence of different economic and political systems. NAM is thus a plural model of international relations.

(5) In Lusaka summit of 1970 NAM has been emphasising the need for restructuring the existing international economic relations and the establishment of a new economic order.

(6) The NAM has opened up new dimensions of international theory. The system of NAM that has emerged is not based on power but is communication based. The nam bloc is essentially voluntary, every member acts independently and avoids alliances; it is communication which is the only "associative influence."

(7) NAM thus presents an alternative model to the orthodox power model of international relations. The NAM countries have themselves become a significant factor of the world balance and consequently, of peace in the world as well.

Q. 5. Write down the contribution of NAM.

Ans. (1) The NAM from the beginning is based on the principles of communication, on exchange of information and ideas, their articulation, aggregation and ventilation.

(2) NAM has played a vital role in accelerating the process of decolonization in post-war world.

(3) NAM has acted as a potential force against racial discrimination. It has encouraged anti-racial movement throughout Africa and Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

(4) NAM is opposed to neo-colonialism with all its manifestation. The movement has proposed various constructive steps to get rid of neo-colonial exploitation such as revision of international trade rules, reform of international financial system, reforms.

(5) NAM also voiced protest against hegemonism of big powers and their unwanted interference and meddling in internal affairs of many weak and vulnerable non-aligned states.

(6) NAM has localized many inter-state conflicts and checked the escalation of such conflicts into wider conflagration.

(7) NAM has espoused the cause of disarmament and arms control measures. The movement opposes nuclear arms race and non-discriminatory nuclear non-proliferation treaties.

(8) NAM has contributed much in forgoing unity among developing countries.

(9) NAM has not fostered negative and passive attitude to international problems and crises. NAM also puts priority on non military measures for settlement of all international disputes.

(10) NAM has expounded the cause of South-South cooperation as viable alternative to neo-colonial exploitation and effective steps for solution of many economic curse of non-aligned countries.

(11) The Nam lodged protests against excessive dominance of big powers over world news, media and information channels.

(12) The NAM has facilitated international cooperation for human welfare.

(13) The NAM has endeavoured to reinforce the egalitarian and democratic trends in world politics.

Q. 6. Findout the problems of NAM.

Ans. NAM has faced various problems since its inception. Some external factors work against non-aligned movement.

(1) Hostile propaganda conducted by the USA and other big powers.

(2) Active intervention of super powers in domestic affairs of many non-aligned countries.

(3) Policy of persuasion to bring non-aligned nations within any of rival blocs during cold war era.

(4) Divide and Rule policy sponsored by major powers to the unity among non-aligned nations.

(5) Utilization of economic aid for political purpose.

(6) Economic backwardness and political instability have crippled many non-aligned countries.

Q. 7. What are the causes behind the formation of NAM.

Ans. (1) In the post war world, the collapse of colonialism and emergence of many small independent states have prompted international non-aligned movement.

(2) The newly independent states preferred to stay away from cold-war rivalries. Cold war politics induced new states to accept the ideal of non-alignment.

(3) The new states sharing some common features reflected common apathy against colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism.

(4) The nam summit conferences highlighted urgent needs for solution of many political and economic problems facing new states and suggested some dynamic, forward looking steps to cope with those problem.

(5) Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, A.G. Nasser, and Marshall Tito pioneered international Nam. Their dynamic leadership and effective guidance played strategic role in the emergence and evolution of Nam.

Q. 8. What are the causes of decline of NAM.

Ans. International non-aligned movement has lost its popularity during 1990s due to several causes.

(1) In recent decades Nam has been weakened due to absence of efficient and dynamic leaders.

(2) The Nam has been torn by disputes and wars among its members.

(3) The Nam has failed to score success in promoting extensive economic and political cooperation among its members.

(4) In recent decades non-aligned movement has failed to undertake effective programme of actions and forward-looking strategy.

(5) International Nam has faced various external pressures since its inception

(6) At last, the end of cold war, many voiced protests against relevance of non-aligned movement.

Q. 9. Explain the relevance of NAM in contemporary world politics.

Ans. The end of the cold war followed by the cessation of hostilities between the super power blocks and being replaced, in many instances, by dialogue negotiation and accommodation. The end of the cold war has replaced the "nuclear bomb" with "social bomb" with poverty, underdevelopment, violence and terrorism topping the priority list and getting intertwined with the security problem of the south to which there can be no military solution. Such adverse economic global structure continues to negatively affect the developing countries, and

NAM has a definite role in working towards a New World order to help its member countries to alleviate the sufferings of its population. The culture of peace, cooperation, striving for a new and just world order will continue as long as the world is based upon an inequitable international system. In recent years, NAM countries failed to wage united movement against many discriminatory clauses of GATT, 1994 and WTO. That has exposed the weaknesses of Nam movement. The international non-aligned movement still bears relevance. It can still serve political, economic, security and humanitarian purposes.

(1) From political perspective, non-aligned movement can forge unity and political cooperation among developing countries.

(2) From economic perspective, non-aligned movement may wage protests against neo-colonial economic exploitation and inequitable economic order. The developed countries are espousing the cause of free trade and open market. The movement must continue relentless struggles against prevailing economic inequalities, injustice, deprivation and discriminatory trade rules.

(3) NAM still bears relevance from security perspective. No weak developing state can safeguard its own security. NAM can consolidate its position as a strong force against big power hegemonism.

(4) NAM can play crucial role in checking armament race among non-aligned countries. The Nam can organize steps for removing discriminatory clauses of CTBT and for checking proliferation of nuclear arms.

(5) NAM can play constructive role in protecting human rights and preventing gross violation of human rights in many areas of the world.

(6) NAM countries can sponsor collective measures for protection of natural environment, ecological balance, control of narcotic drugs and terrorism.

(7) NAM can play a catalytic role in foreign south-south cooperation among developing countries for resolving many common problems facing NAM countries.

Q. 10. State why India has been treated as an emerging powers.

Ans. The republic of India is considered one of the emerging super powers of the world. In 2015, India became the world's

fastest growing economy with an 7.5% estimated GDP rate. The country must overcome many economic, social, and political problems before it can be considered a super power. A country that has the capacity to project dominating power and influence anywhere in the world, generally characterizes by strong growth rate, defense power and foreign influence and so may plausibly attain the status of global hegemony.

(1) **Demographic Factors** : As per the demographic reports, 55% of Indian population is below the age of 25 years. India is the youngest country in the world. These young Indians are approaching their earning years.

(2) **Security Factors** : The Indian Army has a total troop strength of around 2.5 million. It is the second largest standing army in the world. Indian Navy currently operates more than 155 vessels, including the INS Viraat, the only aircraft carrier in Asia operating jet fighters. The Indian Air Force has a strength of approximately 170,000 personnel and 1,242 combat aircraft. It is the fourth largest air force in the world after US, Russia and China.

(3) **Economic Factors** : In 1991, India was a member of the G 77 group of developing India is a proud member of the G 20, the most powerful countries in the world. India is as much a donor as a recipient. Meanwhile India itself has become a substantial donor, including a line of credit of \$10 billion to Africa, \$ 2 billion to Bangladesh. India now finances itself overwhelmingly on commercial terms, not through aid. Its per capita income has shot up from \$ 375 in 2011 to \$ 1,700 today, taking it from low-income to middle-income status. Between 2004 and 2011, a record 138 million Indians were raised above the poverty line. India was historically an economic laggard. Now a days, India is the fastest growing major economy in the world, touching 7.6% in 2016 after a similar rate in 2015.

(4) **Political Factors** : India is the world's largest democratic republic. India's democracy has improved its relations with other democratic nations and significantly improved its ties with the majority of the nations in the developed world. India has been pressing for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council but with a clause that it won't exercise it's veto for the next 15 years.

India has developed relationships with the world powers like the EU, Japan, Russia, and the USA. It also developed relationships with the AU, Arab World, South East Asia. It has significantly boosted its image among Western nations and signed a civilian nuclear deal with the USA. It also working for better relationships with Pakistan.

Historically, India was one of the founder member of NAM and played a crucial role in the Bangladesh Liberation war and in Sri Lanka. Active member of the Commonwealth and the WTO. A new and highly controversial geo-political strategy, being debated in the West, is whether India should be trusted to become an economically strong democratic citizen of the world, and be used to balance the powerful but non-democratic forces, to ensure a more stable world. A new American strategy towards India has been indicated in George W. Bush's recent visit to the subcontinent.

India's current economic growth world's fastest growing major economy as of has improved its standing on the world's political stage, even though it is still a developing country but one that is showing strong development.

Many flaws still remain, corruption, waste and sloth are visible everywhere. Education and health remain deplorable. Indian institutions are low-quality, weak and subservient to political interference.

B. SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M-10

Q. 1. Explain the Historical background of the India's foreign policy.

Ans. Historical background : India has played a very crucial role as the champion of world peace and harmony. India believes that wars can never be the proper solution for all the problems in this world. India is convinced that all the problems should be solved by negotiations between nations. India's Ashoka Chakra is the symbol of humanity, love, peace, goodwill and tolerance. India has realised that lasting peace in the world can only be achieved when all nations big and small have full access to all-round development.

Q. 2. Explain the geo-political factors of the Indian foreign policy.

Ans. Geo-political Factors : India is situated in a strategic part of Asia set in the centre of Indian ocean with close connections with West-Asia, South-East Asia and East-Asia. India's central location on the main trade routes between Europe and Far-East India also offers strategic air routes. Again, bordered on the north by the world's highest mountains, the country is protected from winter cold of the north and that has denied it easy communication with inner Asia. India's command over Indian ocean remains vital for her security interests and trade transactions.

India's foreign policy bears the imprint of her political tradition and history. The roots of India's foreign policy can be traced to her age-old civilization national independence movement and Gandhian philosophy. Prof. Jayantanuj Bandopadhyay conclude India's political tradition as follows—(a) Idealist view of politics and power with emphasis on peace and non-violence; (b) Idealist approach to internationalism; (c) Anti imperialism and Asianism.

Q. 3. Explain the external factors of the Indian foreign policy.

Ans. Strategic Factors : India's common borders with her immediate neighbours and their foreign policy programme have affected India's foreign policy and its orientation. During the post cold war era changing paradigms of world politics call for new foreign policy initiatives.

Q. 4. Main objectives of the Belgrade Summit, 1961.

Ans. (1) The first summit conference at Belgrade was attended by 25 countries.

(2) Represented by South Asia and North Africa.

(3) Euro-centric issues predominated the proceedings of the conference.

(4) The delegates voiced their protests against cold war and the presence and pulls of military alliance.

(5) The conference concern for colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Q. 5. Objectives of Cairo summit, 1964.

Ans. (1) Cairo Summit, 1964 was the second summit.

(2) The conference recorded strong protest against imperialism, socialism and foreign military bases.

(3) Many new issues such as nuclear free zones and proliferation of nuclear weapons appeared in conference resolution on disarmament.

Q. 6. Havana Summit 1979.

Ans. (1) During 1978 and 1979 fresh controversies appeared regarding the general principles and purposes of NAM.

(2) The declaration covered a wide range of issues including problems of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, West Asia and economic problems such as North-South dialogue, food and agriculture.

(3) The conference committed the OPEC members of the movement to continue oil supplies to other members and additional aid in investment.

Q. 7. Jakarta Summit, 1992.

Ans. (1) The summit was held in 1992 in post-cold war era.

(2) Raised the demands for restructuring the United Nations with a broad-based Security Council.

(3) The summit called for North-South dialogues and insisted on South-South cooperation, especially, between capital rich and capital deficit developing countries.

(4) Technologically advanced and technologically backward developing countries.

Q. 8. Explain the Economic factors of India's super power.

Ans. Economic Factors : In 1991, India was a member of the G 77 group of developing countries India is a proud member of the G 20, the most powerful countries in the world now. India is as much a donor as a recipient. Meanwhile India itself has become a substantial donor, including a line of credit of \$10 billion to Africa, \$ 2 billion to Bangladesh. India now finances itself overwhelmingly on commercial terms, not through aid. Its per capita income has shot up from \$ 375 in 2011 to 1,700 today, taking it from low-income to middle-income status. Between 2004 and 2011, a record 138 million Indians were raised above the poverty line. India was historically an economic laggard. Now a days, India is the fastest growing major economy in the world, touching 7.6% in 2016 after a similar rate in 2015.

Q. 9. Explain the political factors of India as a super power.

Ans. Political Factors : India is the world's largest democratic republic. India's democracy has improved its relations with other democratic nations and significantly improved its ties with the majority of the nations in the developed world. India has been pressing for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council but with a clause that it won't exercise its veto for the next 15 years.

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India's current economic growth world's fastest growing major economy as of has improved its standing on the world's political stage, even though it is still a developing country but one that is showing strong development.

Q. 10. Write down the structure of NAM.

Ans. (1) NAM has no fixed organisational structure.

(2) It is non-hierarchical in nature and no country enjoys any special privileges.

(3) The organization does not have any constitution.

(4) The Head of the state or the head of the Government of the country where a NAM summit is held becomes the chairperson of the NAM for the next three years.

(5) 15 non-aligned summits were held from 1961 to 2009 in different parts of the world.

(6) After the cold war the NAM to continue as a significant organization, but doubts were raised regarding its continued survival.

C. VERY SHORT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS : F.M.-1

Q. 1. In which year India got freedom?

Ans. In 1947, 15th August.

Q. 2. Name two basic determinants of India's foreign policy?

Ans. Internal and External determinants.

Q. 3. Which are the internal determinants of India's foreign policy?

Ans. Geo-strategic location, economic conditions, political tradition, national character, political philosophy etc.

Q. 4. Which are the external determinants of India's foreign policy?

Ans. International political environment, foreign policy of major powers and relation with the neighbouring countries.

Q. 5. Who was the first Prime Minister of India?

Ans. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru.

Q. 6. Who was the architect of India's foreign policy?

Ans. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru.

Q. 7. What are the basic political tradition of India's foreign policy?

Ans. (1) Idealist view of politics and power with emphasis on peace and non-violence; (2) Idealist approach, to internationalism; (3) Anti-imperialism and Asianism.

Q. 8. Point out the two basic objectives of India's foreign policy.

Ans. (1) To promote India's national interest; (2) To promote international peace and security.

Q. 9. What is Panchsheel?

Ans. Panchsheel is the peaceful coexistence of India's foreign policy. The five principles of Panchsheel are (a) Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of others;

(b) Non-interference in internal affairs of other states, (c) Equality; (d) Mutual benefit; (e) Peaceful coexistence.

Q. 10. Which is the most important principle of India's foreign policy?

Ans. The principle of non-alignment.

Q. 11. Who is the present Prime-Minister of India?

Ans. Narendra Modi is the present Prime-Minister of India.

Q. 12. Who were the founders of NAM?

Ans. Nehru, Nasser and Tito were the founders of NAM.

Q. 13. In which year NAM was started?

Ans. In the middle of 1950.

Q. 14. Which is main outcome of the NAM.

Ans. Emergence of USA and USSR are main outcome of the NAM.

Q. 15. Mention one principle of NAM.

Ans. (1) The NAM countries should follow an independent policy based on NAM and peaceful co-existence.

Q. 16. Which is the first Summit of NAM.

Ans. The Belgrade Summit.

Q. 17. Which year Belgrade Summit occurred?

Ans. In 1961.

Q. 18. In which year Cairo Summit occurred?

Ans. In 1964.

Q. 19. Who was the chairperson of the Lusaka Summit?

Ans. Kenneth Kunanda.

Q. 20. In which year Havana Summit occurred?

Ans. In 1979.

Q. 21. Who was the chairman of Havana Summit?

Ans. Fidel Castro.

Q. 22. Which is twelfth Summit of Nam and where it was held on?

Ans. Durban Summit of 1998.

Q. 23. Which is XIII Summit of NAM.

Ans. Kuala Lumpur Summit in 2003 was the thirteenth summit of NAM.

Q. 24. Mention one contribution of NAM.

Ans. NAM has facilitated international cooperation for human welfare.

Q. 25. Mention two drawbacks of NAM.

Ans. (1) Hostile propaganda conducted by the USA and other big powers.

(2) Active intervention of super powers in domestic affairs of many NAM countries.

Q. 26. Name two members of NAM.

Ans. Afghanistan, Algeria.

Q. 27. Which country is the last member of the NAM?

Ans. Zimbabwe.

Q. 28. How many countries are included as a NAM members?

Ans. 118 countries.

Q. 29. Name two observer and Guest countries of NAM.

Ans. Armenia and Uruguay.

Q. 30. Which are the factors behind the Indian super power.

Ans. Economic factors, political factors, Demographic factors, security factors etc.

D. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

WITH ANSWERS : F. M.-1

Q. 1. The maker of India's foreign policy is— (a) Jawaharlal Nehru (b) Marshall Tito (c) Kujibor Rahaman.

Ans. (a)

Q. 2. (a) Bhutan (b) India (c) Pakistan—Played a crucial role in the Bangladesh liberation war.

Ans. (b)

Q. 3. India got independence on— (a) 1946 (b) 1948 (c) 1947.

Ans. (c)

Q. 4. The basic principle of India's foreign policy based on—(a) Violence (b) non-violence.

Ans. (b)

Q. 5. The maker of the Panchsheel is (a) Marshal Tito; (b) Mujibor; (c) Castro.

Ans. (a)

Q. 6. NAM faced total—(a) 12 (b) 13 (c) 14-Summits.

Ans. (b)

Q. 7. The first NAM Summit was— (a) Belgrade, (b) Lushak (c) Cairo—summit.

Ans. (a)

Q. 8. The twelfth summit was— (a) Havana, (b) Algeria and (c) Durban—summit.

Ans. (c)

Q. 9. NAM has— (a) 150 (b) 120 (c) 118-members countries.

Ans. (c)

Q. 10. Panchsheel has— (a) five (b) six (c) seven principles.

Ans. (a)

Q. 11. The Belgrade summit held on— (a) 1961 (b) 1974 (c) 2003

Ans. (a)

Q. 12. Kualalampur summit held on (a) 2000 (b) 2001 (c) 2003.

Ans. (c)

Q. 13. India accepted—(a) peace-ful (b) no-peaceful (c) neutral-co-existence.

Ans. (a)

Q. 14. India as a emerging power after— (a) '80s (b) '90s (c) 20th century.

Ans. (b)

Q. 15. India's 'look Western Policy' make by— (a) Nehru (b) Gujral (c) Modi.

Ans. (c)

Q. 16. India's 'look east policy made by— (a) Narshima Rao (b) Manmohan Sigh (c) Vajpayee.

Ans. (a)

PROBABLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR THE FINAL EXAMINATION

Q. Discuss the origin and growth of International Relations as a discipline.

Ans. The present world community is divided into a number of nation-states, each possessing a system of its own. The actions of one state have a deep impact on the interest of others. Therefore, it has become necessary that there should be a proper relationship between the states.

The states of ancient and medieval times mostly established relations with the states of the same region, and they were regional relations. As a result of the Renaissance and Reformation, the territorial states emerged and with the peace treaty Westphalia of 1648, the tradition of international relations between states was set 'up, which continues to this day. The Treaty of Westphalia was a land mark in the international relations. As a result of this, many European states tried to seek peace through their diplomatic representatives. The Treaty of Westphalia attempted not only to resolve disputes between states through mediation, but also revived many pacts violated and to give them a statutory form and this opened a new chapter in international relations.

In the initial stages, international relations was treated as a study of international diplomatic history, law and philosophy. It implies a study of the contemporary foreign affairs as conditioned by the happenings of the past, with a view to find out the shortcomings of the previous statesmen. The study was mainly based on facts finding and no deductions of any universal principles were made which could help in the understanding of present or future of international relations. The outbreak of First World War focussed attention on the inadequacy of diplomatic history approach. The Scholars of current events approach have stressed only the study of the

present without much reference to the past. No attempt was made to relate the post-war political problems with comparable problems of the past. The result was that no well conceived theory could emerge by which the significance of the current events could be understood.

With the establishment of the League of Nations, the frontier of the study of the international relations was further widened. An effort was made to understand interstate relations by studying the behaviour of states in the various international organisations and the control exercised by the international organisations over the sovereign states. It stressed the institutionalisation of international relations through law and organisation. After the Second World War, the field of international relations was further widened. The study of war and its strategy are also included in the international relations. The scholars consider the struggle for power, as reality in international politics. They claimed that the purpose of the study of world issues was to understand them in the real sense through theoretical investigation. The concern of international relations now is threefold—motivating factors of foreign politics everywhere, techniques of the conduct of foreign policies, and mode of resolution of international conflicts. In this stage, the emphasis was given to the forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of the states. Again, the advances in the field of psychology made certain people study international relations through personality and backward analysis. They started a study of the behaviour of leaders, groups as well as the role of the public opinion. The impact of behavioural revolution in international relations forced for the building up theories and models which can explain with a considerable degree of accuracy the patterns of behaviour of political units and systems. Naturally, the scholars in international relations also developed tools and techniques of a scientific analysis.

So, the study of international relations has made a significant progress from stage to stage. At present, the scope of international relations include the study of incompatible interests of the sovereign states that generate conflict, national

interests and goals of sovereign states. After the Second World War, the field of international relations further widened, and the study of military science, and regional areas was also included. The psychological study through personality and background anal analysis also gained prominence. Thus the present international relations have become very extensive.

Q. Discuss the scope of International Relations.

Ans. International relations embraces all human behaviour originating on one side of a state boundary and affecting human behaviour on the otherside of the boundary. International relations is the interaction of the state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships.

The scope of international relations is wide. It is concerned with the study of totality of relations of only people and groups in the world society. It covers all aspects of relations between the countries and people of political or non-political, peaceful or warlike, legal or cultural, economic or geographic. Again, some consider the international relations as an action on the part of a group-state or government-direct towards another group which react to it. Further, the international relations is a study of both co-operative and oppositional relations among the states. After the second world war, the scope of international relations has been widened. Since the foreign policy and military power are closely related, the study of war and its strategy are also included in the international relations. The scholars consider the struggle for power as reality in international politics. To them, it is an end and not a means. They claim that the purpose of the study of the world issues is to understand them in the real sense through theoretical investigation. This has to be done in the context of the present day world; social and economic order rather in isolation. The concern of international relation now is threefold :-

- motivating factors of foreign policies everywhere,
- techniques of the conduct of foreign policies, and
- mode of resolution of international conflicts. Here, the emphasis is given to the forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of nation-states.

Thus the scope of international relations has made significant progress. At present, the international relations include the study of incompatible interests of the sovereign states that generate conflicts, national interests, and goals of sovereign states which they pursue with the help of power, the effectiveness of national power in world politics, the diplomatic history; foreign policies of the sovereign states; the instruments such as diplomacy, international trade, economic and military assistance through which the sovereign states try to achieve their national goals; nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism; balance of power, international law and international organisations, control and check the behaviour of the actors of international relations. After the Second World War, the field of international relations is further widened, and the study of military science, and regional areas are also included. The psychological study through personality and background analysis has also gained prominence. Thus the present international relations have become extensive.

In short, the study of international relations strengthens faith in problems of collective security and disarmament. It provides strategy for the third world countries to adopt for the development of their nations. And lastly, the scope of international relations also provides for universal brotherhood which is a must for the development of the human race among the world community.

Q. Discuss the classical Realist Approach to the study of International Relations.

Ans. Approaches is an analytical tool for understanding, explaining, and making predictions about a given subject matter. It is necessary because it acts as a guiding principle to systematically structure our observations. Approaches in IR attempt to provide a conceptual framework that would help to analyse properly different aspects of the discipline.

Classical Realism : The tradition of Realism is rooted in the writings of many ancient scholars. The classical realists believed that there was no permanent solution to the problems of national and international politics. Greek historian Thucydides is perhaps the oldest writer of this theory. He focused upon the

conflicts and competitions among the Greek-city-states. He explained that the states were unequal in terms of power. He said that 'the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept.' Another classical theorist **Niccolo Machiavelli** urged rulers to be shrewd and ruthless. According to him, the survival of a state, preservation of its territorial integrity and political independence and the welfare of its people depended largely on the manipulative powers of the ruler. **Thomas Hobbes** the English political philosopher developed the theory of classical realism. He believed that even if war was the resort for the resolution of an international conflict such conflicts could be moderated through the enforcement of an international law. So an international law had to be framed by the sovereign states collectively and its strict adherence was necessary for the states to survive and prosper. The main features of traditional classical realism are :

- Classical realists were of the opinion that people lived in a condition of total insecurity and lawlessness. This situation was altered by a powerful sovereign state with a strong government.
- The ruler needs to be powerful to resolve conflicts in politics. Classical realists emphasized the primary value of power in state craft.

After the ending of the First World War international politics was enriched by the power politics. In this context power was again reflected and reinforced in the writings of new. Some classical realists of the twentieth century, such as were E.H. Carr and Hans. J. Morgenthau. E. H. Carr's book 'The Twenty Years Crisis' (1939) provided a criticism of the liberal kind of 'utopian' politics. According to him conflicts between states were inevitable in international politics, because there was no international regulatory authority to curb conflicts and war. Carr also believed that 'power' not 'morality' would be the guiding force in international politics.

Morgenthau's realist theory rests upon the assumption that people are by nature self interested and power hungry. The element of power can secure an individual's position in the society, and can place him in an advantageous position in

comparison to others. Morgenthau believed that 'politics is a struggle for power.' To understand his version of realism it is necessary to know his 'six principles of political realism' developed in 'politics among Nations'. These principles are as follows :

- (1) The law of politics is rooted in human nature which is self-seeking, self-interested and power-loving.
- (2) Politics is an autonomous sphere of activity, and does not depend on economics. The concepts of power and interest can make politics independent of other disciplines.
- (3) A state's interests are not fixed; they are changeable depending on time and space. This reality must be recognized in international politics.
- (4) Ethics in international politics is political or situational ethics, and therefore sharply opposed to private morality.
- (5) Political realism believes that aspirations of a particular state cannot become the governing law of the universe.
- (6) State craft is a sober and uninspiring activity that involves a profound awareness of human limitations. Human nature as it is should be considered in international politics, rather than the human nature as it should be.

The Realist approach is criticised by the Liberals and the Feminists for their narrow and partial views. This theory expressed that power seems to be the only important element in IR. It reduces other aspects of politics such as co-operation, people's freedom, nature of the government, values and beliefs of the people, and motivation of the leaders to a negligible level. Critics also argue that realism is a narrowly focused theory. Despite criticisms by many schools of thought in IR, realism continues to be an important theory in the discipline because of its emphasis on power and the significance of the state in international politics. Realism will continue to remain relevant as long as the states pursue power and remain the pivotal actors in world politics.

Q. Discuss the 'Neo-Realist' Approach to the study of IR.

Ans. 'Neo Realism' emerged as an approach to the study of IR in the decade of '70's. The main theorists are Kenneth Waltz, T. Schelling, S. Krasner, R. Gilpin etc. Kenneth Waltz published

his important work, 'Theory of International Politics' written in 1979. He argued that to study IR one should begin with the system—the state or other political system and ultimately come down to the individual actors. This is in opposition to the 'traditional realists' approach, whose basic premise was the individual human nature. Kenneth Waltz places great importances on the structure of the system, on its interacting units and on the changes occurring within the system. Waltz 'Neo-Realist' systems theory' emphasis on scientific analysis. According to Waltz all states are similar in their functional aspects, as all perform similar tasks such as promoting citizen's welfare, collecting taxes, formulating foreign policies and maintaining internal peace.

Features of the theory :

- In the contemporary world, the 'threat' of war is more fearsome than actual war.
 - For the Neo-Realists, the structure of the system and its relative distribution of power are the focal points of analysis.
 - States which are more 'capable' than others would control international politics.
 - Neo-Realists are sceptical about the impact of globalization throughout the world.
 - The Neo-Liberal claim that economic interdependence of the world has made the nation-state a minor player in international affairs is not tenable.
 - The Neo-Liberal claim that only free market economy can achieve sustained growth is not true.
 - The theory is anti-statism, there is no serious rival to challenge and replace the state in IR.
- Neo-realism was criticized in several manners.
- The theory fails to assess the relative importance of cultural forces in world order.
 - Neo-realism could not visualize that states might be transcended by new forms of political communities in response to new identities and loyalties.
 - Linklater observes that neo-realism fails to visualize a statecraft which transcends the calculus of power and control.

• Cox points out that neo-realists reduces international relations to great power management for preserving a political order that safeguards the powerful.

Despite all criticism, neo-realist approach has some contribution to the study of IR. Many contemporary international events testify realist theory. The cold-war nurtured neo-realist assumptions about power-politics. Neo-realist theory power the way to formulation of grand theory.

Q. Define the World system theory to the study of International Relations.

Ans. The World system theory develops a serious debate in the study of IR. This theory is highly influenced by the Marxist theory. Immanuel Wallerstein and John Galtung presented basic concepts of world system theory. The theory assumes that rules and logic of global capitalism structure and manipulate the world system. Wallerstein describes the prevailing world system as capitalist world economy and capitalism as a global phenomenon. The modern state system emerged as political instrument of capitalist bourgeoisie. The capitalist world economy is governed by certain specific rules and codes and it is based on international division of labour. International division of labour reinforces class divisions in the world. The theory divides the world into two categories-core and periphery. The capitalist of the core region exploit the periphery regions.

Wallerstein asserts that numerous producers of numerous countries are associated with capitalist production system. Some producers are associated with monopolistic production. The relations between core and periphery amount to relations between high profit-making and low-profit earning activities. Wallerstein has referred to semi-peripheral zone. This zone plays an intermediate role within world system representing certain features of the core zone and other elements of the periphery zone.

Immanuel Wallerstein explains various factors that led to concentration of core activities in few regions and dispersion of peripheral activities in other regions. Many peripheral zones display mixture of core activities and peripheral activities.

Wallerstein comments that the modern world system is based on three phenomenon.

- A relatively stable inter-state system;
 - A highly profitable world production system;
 - Social cohesion of the sovereign states.
- The **basic features** of the world system theory are as follows :

• Influenced by Marxism and its idea of accumulation of wealth.

• Class divisions have assumed a regional character in the post colonial world.

• The world is divided into 'core' and 'periphery' regions a system in which the rich capitalist core regions dominate over the poor periphery, mainly the third world regions.

• Semi-periphery is not as advanced as the core, but ahead of the periphery in terms of wealth accumulation.

• There may be 'core' and 'periphery' within the 'core' and 'periphery' regions; the new class struggle would involve the core and the 'periphery'.

• 'Enclave Economy' and national capitalists are responsible for under development in the third world region.

The theory has been criticized in several manners :

• Wallerstein's historical analysis has been criticized as controversial.

• His concept of world system is subject to sharp criticisms.

• This theory fails to explain internal structure operating within the capitalist system.

• The theory fails to explain the hegemonic behaviour of former Soviet Union and China's policies.

• Wallerstein's views about semi-peripheral zone is debatable.

• According to Robert Cox, this theory fails to offer precise explanation about the structural transformation of world system.

• Still, the theory exposes the process and mechanisms of neo-colonial exploitation. Prof. Jayantanuj Bandopadhyay acknowledges certain positive contributions of world system theory.

• World system theory highlights that inter-state system is hierarchically structured and governed by a private oligarchy of strong states.

• It analyses causes of subordination and marginalization of poor developing states by big hegemonic power.

Q. Explain Dependency Approach to the study of IR.

Ans. Scholars of IR explained that the Dependency theory has developed in the light of Marxist theory. The Dependency theory explain the conditions of third world countries. The dependency theory come closer to the world system theory. The theory mostly developed by Latin American scholars like Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Falatto, puts forward the arguments that accumulation of capital in a third world country cannot sustain itself internally. Andre Gunder Frank developed this theory. He was a left wing economist and political activist who wrote widely in the fields of economics, social and political history development studies and international relations. His famous work is **the development of under development** or 'dependency theory'. He observed the inequality of the world under 1970's and 1980's.

Frank's main argument was that in our interconnected globalised world, some countries are winners, while others are losers. According to this theory the people of less-developed countries are not to blame for the failure of their societies to develop. He suggested that Western nations deliberately failed to develop these countries. He argued that historically 'core' nations such as the USA and the UK, who made up the elite 'metropolis', exploited peripheral nations by keeping them as satellites in a state of dependency and under development. Developed nations become wealthy by exploiting the poorest nations and using them as a source of cheap raw materials and labour. He claimed that this exploitative relationship was evident throughout the course of history and was maintained into the twentieth century through western countries dominations of international trade, the emergence of large multinational companies and the reliance of less-developed countries on Western aid.

Frank's ideas about under development originated in his study of history, which he regarded as essential to understanding development **issues**. He criticised modernisation theorists, who argue that development happens as countries

move from being traditional to modern economics and as they make on the values and practices of the developed countries. He argued that such theories of development failed to take account of how the capitalist system was a cause of underdevelopment, not a solution. He claimed that underdeveloped countries were simply 'behind' the developed world and needed to catch up. He said that where underdeveloped countries were assumed to be at a stage of history that developed countries had passed through long ago, was ignorant. He claimed that this simplistic view failed to take account of the impact on underdeveloped countries of their relations with developed countries who colonised them throughout history.

Frank challenged the assumption that the under development of a country was due to its own economic, political, social and cultural structures and that the only way to develop such a country was 'diffuse' capital, structures, systems, even values, from a developed, capitalist hub or 'metropole' to replace those that existed in the underdeveloped country. Frank also rejected the 'dual' society theory which related to countries where inequality of income or differences in culture were evident. According to this theory one part of society was viewed as relatively progressive, modern and developed while the other part was more isolated, rural or primitive. The developed part was benefited by the influence of capitalism, while the other part still needed to have the benefits of capitalism diffused to it.

• Frank based his ideas on a close study of the effects of capitalism in history. He sets up an example of Latin America in the 60s. Frank examined that the city was conquered by Spain and Portugal in the 16th century. Frank claimed that the city's function at this time was to economically dominate the indigenous population lived in surrounding rural communities. He said that the city was metropole that dominated the satellites around it. These metropolises were themselves country. Frank said that over the course of history, this chain of exploitation in the form of a metropolis-satellite relationship has been maintained, so that resources continued to be taken from satellites and fed back to the dominant

metropolis. He said that his study of the history of countries like Chile and Brazil backed up this theory, where the chain of 'satellite underdevelopment' was evident in these countries' relationship with Europe and within their own domestic economies where the 'satellite metropolis' relationship existed at various levels.

Frank's pointed out three major claims.

1. While the major industrialised nations are not satellite to any other power, cities and countries in the under developed world were limited by their satellite status and were under the domination of the developed world economies.

2. Satellites experienced their greatest economic development at times in history when their ties to the metropolis were weakest. Frank pointed out that Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico were strongest during the two world wars due to the industrial development and Western were the weakest part between the wars.

3. Those regions that were seen as most under-developed and economically backward in the twentieth century had the closest ties to the developed world in the past.

Criticism :

Critics of the dependency theory argue that this dependency is exaggerated. They also say that the theory focuses too much on economic factors and does not take into consideration the country's political, social, cultural and environmental factors that might be contributing to underdevelopment. Critics also argue that this theory is very much unrealistic.

Q. Discuss the Feminist approach to the study of IR.

Ans. Feminist theories of IR try to focus on the historical role of women in global affairs. As a social theory feminism is not quite new, Feminist theories of IR have mainly focused after the 1980's. Feminism has many voices within the discipline. Sometimes Feminism has influenced by Marxism has highlighted the exploitation of women in society, post modern Feminists have focused more on gender. These theories have pointed out that the history and structure of and knowledge about IR are all gendered. According to Feminist theorists of IR, these issues reflect a masculine way of thinking.

For instance, the Realist idea of military security of nations is an international order based. On anarchy is a masculine projection that conceals the existence of gender hierarchy in international politics. Feminist IR theorists argue that although wars have been largely caused and fought by men, women form the majority of civil casualties. Besides women are providers of various support services during war and militarization.

Feminist scholars of IR have also shown how the formation of the state and the international society of states have helped the construction of gender differences through divisions such as private/public—state/society and domestic/international. The division of private and public spheres within a state has been created by a patriarchal mind set which focused women to household work that remain largely unnoticed, and unpaid.

Basic features of this theory are :

1. Feminism in IR points out that the history and structure of, and knowledge about, IR are all gendered

2. Postmodern Feminists have focused more on gender, or on how divisions between the masculine and the feminine constitute a hierarchy of power by which the former subordinates the latter.

3. Major issues in IR, such as war, peace, security, power co-operation, diplomacy, foreign policy, propaganda and military reflected a masculine way of thinking.

4. The Realist concern for security tries to seek protection from an outside threat with a view to ensure protection of a domestic jurisdiction that fixes continuous subordination of women.

5. Feminist IR theorists argue that although wars have been largely caused and fought by men, women form the majority of civil casualties.

6. Feminist scholars of IR have shown how the formation of the state and the international society of states have helped the construction of gender differences through divisions such as private/public-state/society and domestic/international.

7. Globalization has not been able to alter the plight of women.

8. Gender-sensitive analysis of international politics may bring the issue of gender inequality into focus.

Main exponents of this theory are C. Enloe, V.S. Peterson, A.S. Runyan, S. Sassen, J. Pettman and J. True. Feminism in International relations does not encourage gender-sensitive research and analysis. Feminist perspectives of IR may help the discipline to search for new ideas, conceptions and theories.

Q. Basic meaning of 'core' and 'periphery'.

Ans. 'Core' and 'periphery' are the central idea of the world system theory. According to this theory the core region exploits the periphery region. The profitable production centres are located in some regions which can be specified as core regions. The low profit-making production system is geographically dispersed throughout the world. These regions are termed as periphery zones. The relation between core and periphery amount to relations between high profit-making and low-profit earning activities. The production relations between core and periphery zones ensure transfer of surplus value from the peripheral sector to the core regions. The surplus is transferred not only from the workers to the owners but also from the owners of the periphery to owners of the core zones. The coreness or peripherality is not associated inherently with any particular kind of economic activities. Many peripheral zones display mixture of core activities and peripheral activities.

Q. Meaning of 'satellite' and 'metropolises' :

Ans. Concepts of 'satellites' and 'metropolises' are closely related with the theory of dependency. These concepts are formulated by Andre Gunder Frank in the years of 1960's. Frank based his ideas on a close study of the effects of capitalism in history. He explained the city was the metropole that dominated the 'satellites' around it. These metropolises are dominated by the European countries, then these 'metropolises' act as 'satellites'. Frank used this concept of 'satellite' and 'metropolises' to identify the inequality and under development in Latin America in the 1960's.

Q. Find out the criticism of classical Realism.

Ans. (1) The Realist theory is controversial as it upholds monistic theory of power.

(2) Realist theory is conservative as it fails to recognise that changes within political system can introduce systematic changes in international politics.

(3) Realists fail to emphasize that increasing interdependence among states reduces the conditions of anarchy in international system.

(4) The post-modern critical theorists sharply opposed the realist theory. They aspire to promote an alternative theory by demolishing state-centric political system.

Q. Discuss the liberal traditional to the study of international relations.

Ans. It is said that liberalism is the basis of international relations. It regards the power politics as the passing phase of history. According to the liberal view, a society or nation is formed due to evolution. The essence of liberal study is that there should be means to give up the bad and to foster the good. It visualises a world free from war, inequality and tyranny. This new order will be marked by constant progress in human welfare brought about by the use of reason, education and science. Thus the liberal approach proceeds with the assumption that the interests of the different nations are likely to be adjusted to the larger interests of the mankind as a whole. But the liberal view is ambiguous and it runs short of factual position.

Q. Mention the distinctions between International Relations and International Politics.

Ans. The term international relations is considered wider in scope as it is the study of totality of relations of any people and groups in the world society. It covers all aspects of relations between countries and people political or non-political, peaceful or war like, legal or cultural, official or non-official. On the otherhand, the term international politics connotes the politics of international community in a rather narrow sense, concerning mainly diplomacy and the relations among states and other political units.

Again, international relations means contracts, connections as well as action and interaction and includes all even non-political aspects of transactions between nations. But

international politics refers to only those actions which are political in nature. We are to note that Morgenthau, and Palmer and Parkins have used the term international relations in place of international politics.

Q. Explain the distinctions between Realism and Idealism in international relations.

Ans. In international relations, the differences between realism and idealism are :

(a) Realism believes that there is a constant strife and rivalry among the states. But the idealists do not believe that there is always a contest for power;

(b) Realism is based on the real concept of power, while idealism is based on abstract philosophical grounds;

(c) Realists hold that it is not possible to manage conflict, while the idealists stress that conflict can be reduced through education and creating legal institutions;

(d) Realism dictates the realisation of immediate requirements, irrespective of moral convictions whereas idealism looks to the future at the risk of the present.

Q. Write down the causes of the Second World War.

Ans. The Second World War began due to the quarrel between Germany, Italy, Japan, Britain, France, America and Soviet Russia. The Second World War, like the first was the final outcome of a struggle between the imperialist states for redivisions of colonies. There were several factors which tended to produce the process that culminated in the war.

(1) Imperialist as the root cause of War : The peace settlement of 1919 deprived Germany of all his colonial possessions which were divided by the victors of the First World War. By 1920 the whole colonial world was grappled by the Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, the United States, Italy and Japan. Among these countries Britain and France had huge number of colonies. A redivision of the colonial world was not realisable by peaceful means, German imperialists could hope to obtain colonies or spheres of influence only by wrestling them from the existing colonial powers. Italy and Japan lined up behind Germany because they had few colonial possessions.

They could also obtain new colonies or spheres of influence only by wrestling them from other colonial powers.

(2) The peace settlement of 1919. The Versailles Treaty is regarded as one of the causes of the Second World War. The clause and the harsh and punitive economic clauses wounded the national pride and sentiment of German people, which Hitler could use in pursuing the predatory aims of German imperialism. On the other hand, the Treaty failed to exact from Germany an adequate military guarantee of security. The Treaty provided German imperialists and militarists the necessary time to revive their ambitions and military strength. The Versailles Treaty was not one of the primary causes of the war. The terms of the peace settlement were not enforced when it was necessary.

(3) Anglo-French conflict. The enforcement of the peace settlement depended on the co-operation of Britain and France in particular. One of the most important factors that enabled Hitlerite Germany to wage the most barbarous war in history was that Britain and France were the ally over the execution of the peace settlement. As Britain and France drifted ever further apart diplomatically, Germany could have violated the provisions of the Versailles Treaty one after another with impunity. The conflict between French and British policies had destroyed the League as an instrument of collective action against the peace-breaker. To France and her eastern allies maintenance of the territorial status and French hegemony in Europe was essential.

(4) Anti-Sovietism and appeasement policy. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union replaced the fear of German militarism in the minds of Western statesmen by the spectre of Soviet Communism. The Governments of Great Britain and France were so scared by communism that they considered that Germany might be used as a bulwark, correctly stated by David Thomson, against the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany successfully used this fear of communism, which obsessed the Great Powers, as a weapon with which to strengthen his position and to paralyse the League. The Grand Alliance which could have curbed Hitler's ambitions was not built.

(5) **The rise of Fascism and Nazism.** There were additional factors of political philosophies, Fascism and Nazism in Italy, Japan and Germany—which envisaged the hegemony of the respective in the world. Fascism and Nazism meant

(6) **The direct cause of the war.** On September 1, 1939, Hitler attacked Poland. The British and French Governments, which had underwritten Poland's independence demanded that Germany stop hostilities. A comparative assessment of the strength of the Soviet Union and the Western Powers brought Hitler round to the conclusion that it would be easier to push forward Nazi for world domination by smashing the rival capitalist group than by attacking the socialist Soviet Union. The war broke out between two antagonistic groups of imperial powers. It sprang from the fascist encroachments on the national existence of a number of countries and also on the imperial positions of Britain and France and on their colonies.

Q. Discuss the meaning and nature of Cold War.

Ans. The Second World War, like the First World War, significantly altered the international scene. For the first time in the history of international relations, a non-European power, the U.S.A. became a decisive factor in international politics. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. emerged as powerful states. The two states are considered as super-powers as they have the capacity to intervene, interfere and move the armed forces in any part of the world. The conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. for strengthening their own blocks and taking steps to see that the other block is weakened without entering into direct war is known as the cold war.

As a concept of international relations, cold war denotes a state of constant conflict and strife, maintained and perpetuated without a direct armed conflict between the antagonists. Cold war is a state of intensive competition, political, economic, and ideological, which yet fall below the threshold of armed conflict between states. Cold war embraces all phenomena pertaining to the conflict between communism and democratic ideologies as well as protagonists, the United States and the Soviet Union and the two blocks led by the super powers.

The nature of cold war is the sharp diplomatic confrontation, propaganda war, economic warfare and war by proxy in the small areas without direct major military conflict. Cold war is a diplomatic war. In a cold war, peacetime diplomatic relations are maintained while the hostilities continue at the same time. It creates a feeling that at any time a hot war may burst out. Cold war was the result of the tension resulting from the formation of two blocks namely east and west. Cold war was neither peace nor war. It was an ideological war, a propaganda war, and a diplomatic war, but not a state of armed struggle. It was based on the assumption that the real threat to the world peace was posed by the military strength of the Soviet Union. Again, no co-operation is possible between the states with different social systems. The struggle between the east and the west is a struggle between freedom and tyranny. It may be pointed out that the cold war was the development of a big arms race between the two blocks led by America and the Soviet Union. Because of the discovery of the atom bomb, nuclear weapons were acquired in huge numbers by both the blocks making the cold war a very dangerous type of conflict in the world. Furthermore, the cold war between the super powers (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) did not confine itself to one particular region like Europe or Asia but extended to almost all parts of the world. In their efforts to expand their spheres of influence for political or strategic, ideological and economic reasons, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. began to intervene in the conflict of other countries to gain whatever advantage they could. Thus, the cold war has been basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of cold war.

Q. Discuss the effects of the Cold War.

Or, Analyse the impact of cold war on international politics.

Ans. The cold war has been basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of cold war. It may be pointed

out that the cold war started in 1945 and ended in 1991 when the U.S.S.R. was split into 15 independent nations.

The phantom of cold war had created an atmosphere of psychosis which generated a mad race for manufacturing nuclear armaments. Both the blocks (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) were viewing each other to be ahead of the other in acquiring more sophisticated nuclear armaments. Again, the cold war made both the super powers (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) to spend huge amounts to acquire nuclear weapons. This has led to diversion of money from national developmental plans to the building of armaments. In this process, both the countries armed to the teeth. The cold war has complicated the chances of achieving the objective of one world. The mutual rivalry between the super powers had reduced the United Nations (U.N.) to a simple forum of deliberations. It prevented certain countries to become members of the U.N. Further, the cold war has given rise to permanent types of alliances which are concluded much in advance of war. NATO, SEATO, CENTO and the Warsaw Pact were also formed in the wake of the cold war. This alignment system covers most countries of the world. Thus, the cold war had led to alignment system even during the peace times and constant efforts are made to strengthen them. Besides, the cold war has affected the world economy as well. The smaller countries which are relatively poor and possess limited resources cannot afford to enter the race for armaments. And lastly, the cold war gave greater freedom of action to small and middle powers. Each group tries to win them over. The influence which the Afro-Asian countries are able to exert in the U.N. is well known.

Q. Discuss the different phases of the cold war.

Ans. The cold war has been basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of cold war. It may be pointed out that the cold war started in 1945 and ended in 1991 when the U.S.S.R. was split into 15 independent nations.

The evaluation or course of cold war can be presented under eight phases. They are analysed below :

First Phase (1946-1949) : During the period from 1946-1949, the West was under impression that if strong pressure was organised, the Red regime in the U.S.S.R. would collapse like a house of cards because the U.S.A. had the atom bomb monopoly and the U.S.S.R. lacked it. Again, the U.S.A. resorted to direct military intervention through the Truman Doctrine, and economic integration by Marshall Plan (1947). This phase was also marked by anti-communist feeling which the U.S.A. tried to implement throughout the world. And this phase of cold war ended with the conclusion of the N.A.T.O. (1949).

Second Phase (1949-1953) : During the period from 1949-1953, the U.S.A. continued her policy of military and economic assistance against the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A. concluded her security treaty with Australia and New Zealand and Peace Treaty with Japan in this period. The Korean War also occurred in this period. The U.S.A. intensified her anti-communist propaganda and spent millions of dollars for this purpose.

Third Phase (1953-1957) : During this phase, the U.S.A. continued her policy of military and economic offensive. The U.S.A. organised the SEATO and MEDO. It also established a number of military bases around the U.S.S.R. and concluded defence treaties with 40 States. It was during this period that the U.S.A. involved herself in Vietnam, which turned out to be a grim climax of the cold war. The U.S.S.R. also concluded WARSAW TREATY with east European powers to counteract NATO. It entered into defence treaties with 15 states.

Fourth Phase (1957-1962) : During this period, the principles of peaceful co-existence were asserted, and it saw the most dangerous Cuban missile crisis which has virtually brought the entire mankind on the brink of the third world war. In this period, there had been mutual exchange of cultural and political delegates.

Fifth Phase (1962-1970) : During this period, there was a world wide concern demanding ban on nuclear weapons. The Geneva Hot Line Agreement (1963) brought the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. more closer. However, the problem of Germany and Vietnam was still a riddle for both blocs. A call for disarmament was given during this period.

Sixth Phase (1970-1976) : This period has been marked by detente. The congenial climate for detente was created in 1971. The President Nixon of the U.S.A. paid a visit to Moscow and signed the agreements on certain matters with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms. The U.S.S.R. President Brezhnev also visited the U.S.A. and concluded an agreement for greater co-operation in different fields. Besides the detente, there were many points of conflict between the two super powers. For example, in Bangladesh formation, the U.S.A. extended support to Pakistan while the U.S.S.R. stood by the side of India.

Seventh Phase (1976-1979) : In this period, the prospects of mitigating cold war were marred by sudden developments in Afghanistan where the Russian armed intervention rather aggravated the situation. It fanned the dying fumes of cold war.

Eighth or Last Phase (1979-1994) : The process of normalisation of relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. suffered a set back in the wake of certain political developments in Afghanistan. Gorbachev (U.S.S.R.) and Reagan (U.S.A.) came to an understanding regarding medium range missiles and start war programme. Again, the Washington Meeting (1987) and the Summit Meeting (1990) between the Presidents of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. brought close the two states. And after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. (1991), the cold war ended with the efforts of Russian State to join the NATO in 1994.

Q. Explain the causes of the Cold War.

Ans. Cold War is a post-War international development, it is not an entirely new phenomenon. The western powers then refused to recognise the new communist government and the USA accorded recognition to it only in 1933. The historians refer to some immediate causes of cold war.

(1) Sovietization of Eastern Europe. The establishment of communist regimes in whole of Eastern Europe under hegemony of Soviet Union generated deep-seated suspicions among western powers. Czechoslovakian coup of 1948 widened rift between East and West.

(2) Russia's policy towards Iran. Under an agreement of 1943, the Allied Forces agreed to withdraw from Iran within six months after surrender of Germany. But Soviet Union after the war instigated a rebellion in Northern Iran and pressurized it to sign a treaty with Russia for supply of oil resources of North Iran to Russia for the next 25 years. Russia's refusal to withdraw her forces from Iran led to further course. At the intervention of the U.N, Soviet Russia withdrew her forces from Iran.

(3) Soviet Pressure on Greece and Turkey. The communists of Greece after the election in 1945 engineered a guerrilla war against Greek government which was turned into civil war. The communist forces sought outside help from Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia. American President Truman despatched military assistance to restore civil rule in Greece. Soviet Union brought pressure on Turkey for Modification of the Montevideo convention of 1936. But Turkey refused to oblige. Churchill again appealed to the USA for necessary help to thwart Soviet pressure on Turkey.

(4) German Problem. German problem after the war became major bone of contention between Soviet Union and Western powers. After the war, Germany was divided into two parts the western part being known as the Federal Republic of Germany with a democratic system on western pattern and an economy based on capitalism. The democratic Republic was set up in East Germany with a communist system of government and an economy based on Marxism.

(5) Differences over Peace Treaties. Serious disagreement also erupted over the peace treaties that complicated the process of peace-making. The Austrian state Treaty was delayed until 1955 because of disagreement between the western powers and Austria over demarcation of Austria's boundaries. Subsequently, it led to chain reactions and succession of move and counter-moves in international politics of the post-war decades.

(6) The foremost reason for antagonism between the two superpowers was the opening of the second front to divide the German army. The Soviet Union was pressurizing the opening of the Second Front from June 1941 but finally, the Supreme

commander, General Dwight Eisenhower opened the Second Front in June 1944. The delay in opening the Second Front created suspicion in the minds of the Soviets resulting in antagonism between the two.

Q. Write down the meaning and nature of Detente.

Ans. Detente actually facilitates compromise and cooperation in limited spheres for mutual interest. At the American University in 1963, President John F. Kennedy explained the necessity of reduction of tensions and lessening the risk of war. It is very difficult to give an exact meaning to such ambiguous concepts like detente. The initiatives and serious developments that took place during the period of detente. Henry Kissinger pointed out that "Detente is a process, not a permanent achievement-obviously the main concern must be to reduce the source of potential conflicts." Detente is a French term signifying restoration of friendship. Many authors maintain that former French President, Charles de Gaulle first used the term in 1950 and he was keenly interested in normalizing relations between East and West.

It is rather difficult to identify the exact time when cold war came to thaw and was replaced by detente. The first phase of detente can be traced to 1955 with Khrushchev and Bulganin's visit to Geneva for a Summit conference with Eisenhower and Eden. The Soviet leaders put forward a new disarmament proposal there. The second phase of detente may be traced to March, 1959. In 1959, Khrushchev went to America and second summit was arranged which was scheduled to be held in May 1960. The summit ended in chaos before it really started and U-2 incident spoilt the spirit of detente. The new period of detente started in the summer of 1963. Soviet Russia's consent to sign a partial test ban treaty represented a significant step towards detente. In 1970, West Germany signed non-aggression treaties with the USSR and Poland. Gradually, East-West relations improved not only between Soviet block and the West but also between China and the West.

Other agreements dealt with space research, trade and pollution. Preparations began in 1973 for a general settlement on European problems and Nixon helped the process by granting

recognition to East Germany in 1974. The US-Soviet commission was set up to promote cooperation in trade. The joint cooperation in space led to Appollo-Soyuz link up in 1975. It initiated deliberation on ways required to reduce risk of accident near the Kumepe. The conference paved to finalization of the agreements on extending economic and cultural links throughout the continent and on safe-guarding certain fundamental human rights. New strategic Arms Limitations Talk began in 1974. The next conference met again in 1978 in Belgrade. But Belgrade conference was sourced by wrangling and hot debates on human rights issue. The USA was dismayed by spread of communism in the whole of Indo-China. Events in Angola and Ethiopia became sources of irritants in the US-Soviet relations.

At the end of 1979, Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan drove both super powers towards a new wave of cold war. Simultaneously, after the overthrow of Somoza in Nicaragua in 1979 the communist party gained full control there and began to support the gurerrillas in El Salvador. These new developments provoked American Senate to refuse to sign the strategic Arms limitation Talks II. By 1980, detente was almost regarded as having failed. On October 27, 1982 Brezhnev admitted that "Russia declares detente with the USA as dead." American President Ronald Reagan emphasized more on building up American strength rather than negotiating with Soviet Union.

Q. Write a short notes on Cold War (1947-1985).

Ans. The Cold War (1979-1985) refers to a late phase of the Cold War marked by a sharp increase in hostility between the Soviet Union and the West. It arose from a strong denunciation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. With the election of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1979, and American President Ronald Reagan in 1980, a corresponding change in Western foreign policy approach toward the Soviet Union was marked by the rejection of detente in favor of the Reagan Doctrine policy of rollback, with the stated goal of dissolving Soviet influence in Soviet Bloc countries. During this time, the threat of nuclear war had reached new heights not seen since the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan following the Soviet Revolution in that country, ultimately leading to the deaths of around one million civilians.^[1] Mujahideen fighters succeeded in forcing a Soviet military withdrawal in 1989. In response, U.S. President Jimmy Carter announced a U.S.-led boycott of the Moscow 1980 Summer Olympics. In 1984, the Soviet Union responded with its own boycott of the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, California. Tensions increased when the U.S. announced they would deploy Pershing II missiles in West Germany, followed by Reagan's announcement of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative and were further exacerbated in 1983 when Reagan branded the Soviet Union an "evil empire".

In April 1983, the United States Navy conducted FleetEx '83-1, the largest fleet exercise held to date in the North Pacific. The conglomeration of approximately forty ships with 23,000 crewmembers and 300 aircraft, was arguably the most powerful naval armada ever assembled. U.S. aircraft and ships attempted to provoke the Soviets into reacting, allowing U.S. Naval Intelligence to study Soviet radar characteristics, aircraft capabilities, and tactical maneuvers. On April 4, at least six U.S. Navy aircraft flew over one of the Kurile Islands, Zeleny Island, the largest of a set of islets called the Habomai Islands. The Soviets were outraged and ordered a retaliatory overflight of the Aleutian Islands. The Soviet Union also issued a formal diplomatic note of protest, which accused the United States of repeated penetrations of Soviet airspace. In the following September, the civilian airliner Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was downed by Soviet fighter jets over nearby Moneron Island.

In November 1983, NATO conducted a military exercise known as "Able Archer 83". The realistic simulation of a nuclear attack by NATO forces caused considerable alarm in the USSR and is regarded by many historians to be the closest the world came to nuclear war since the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

This period of the Cold War would continue through U.S. President Reagan's first term (1981-1985), through the death of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in 1982, the brief interim period of Soviet leadership consisting of Yuri Andropov (1982-1984)

and Konstantin Chernenko (1984-1985). This phase in the Cold War concluded in 1985 with the ascension of reform-minded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev who brought a commitment to reduce tensions between the East and the West and bring about major reforms in Soviet society.

Q. Examine the main factors of Detente.

Or, Examine the causes which leading to Detente.

Ans. (1) The spectacular advances in nuclear weapon technology and unbridled arms race between the USA and the USSR drifted the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust. The fear of nuclear war and the Chinese aggression paved the way to reappraisal and detente between two super powers.

(2) The Cuban crisis of 1962 which drew the USA and USSR to the brink of war prompted them to adopt cautious approach and to reduce the dangers of cold war by promoting friendly relations.

(3) The Soviet policy of peaceful co existence as propounded by Khrushchev after death of Stalin paved the way for congenial atmosphere for detente.

(4) The growing opposition to American involvement in Vietnam war also compelled the American administration to accept detente in international relation.

(5) The Sino-Soviet rift had motivated Soviet Russia to adhere to less rigid posture and to make compromise with the Western powers.

(6) The Discords and dissensions within NATO influenced, the USA to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the Soviet Union. The USA conceived that detente would offer the USA the opportunity to review some long-term problems of Atlantic alliance in greater details. The other western powers assumed that detente was likely to operate to their advantages.

(7) The Soviet leaders also anticipated that detente might offer a chance to exploit strains in western alliance.

(8) The growing popularity of NAM among large number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and friendly cooperation among them, reflected growing aversion to cold-war rivalries.

Q. Explain the "Diplomatic Background" of World War II.

Ans. The "Diplomatic Background" of the World War II centered on Danzig and the so-called Polish corridor, which had been separated from Germany by the Versailles Treaty.

The Polish Corridor comprising a territory west of Danzig divided East Prussia from the rest of the Reich and embittered Polish German relations. Danzig was by this time completely nazified, its policy could be assumed to be controlled and directed from Berlin. The political situation was highly inflammable and Hitler could produce at any moment a pretext for launching his armies. The two countries also pledged each other support should one "become involved in warlike complications with another power or powers." On August 25, Hitler produced the move which he expected would ensure British neutrality. He had already signed, on 23rd August, the Soviet-German Non-aggression pact, which "acted as a major bombshell into the allied camp." On August 28, the British Government answered stressing its obligation to Poland under the Anglo-Polish agreement for mutual assistance in case of aggression. They proposed direct discussions between Germany and Poland and a settlement of the issues which should be safeguarded by international guarantees in which Great Britain was willing to participate. At 9 a.m. on September 3, the British Government presented an ultimatum to the German Government stating that unless German forces had withdrawn by 11 a.m. Britain would consider herself at war with Germany. France followed Britain by the same evening. Thus ended the period of peace. The second World War began.

Q. Define the impacts of the Cold War.

Ans. (1) The cold war reduced the effectiveness of the UNO and shattered the chance of international cooperation under the auspices of the UNO. Thus long-cherished UNO became the first casualty of the cold war.

(2) The cold war unleashed a mad race of armament including nuclear race. The possibility of a nuclear holocaust horrified the whole world.

(3) The cold war by fuelling arms race diverted the scarce resources of the world for manufacturing destructive arms. The cold war left adverse effects on economic development of mankind.

(4) The cold war between two unchallenged super powers checked the rise of American or Russian dominance over the whole world.

(5) The cold war has aggravated tension and fear, generated a war-psychosis and obstructed moves towards disarmament.

(6) The cold war and consequent bi-polar division of the world led to emergence of non-aligned movement.

(7) The cold war engineered competition among super powers to win allegiance of uncommitted developing countries of the world.

(8) The cold war checked the victorious surge of capitalism throughout the world.

Q. Which factors are responsible for the End of Detente?

Ans. (1) Czechoslovakia experienced Prague spring or socialism with a human face, under the reformist leader, Alexander Dubcek in 1967 who also decided to withdraw from the WARSAW Pact. Prague spring became an irritant in the East-West relations.

(2) The Indo-Pak War of 1965-66 and the War of liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 fuelled the super power rivalry. Then there was the Middle East crisis which also dampened the mood of the detente in 1973. The super power competition in the region raised the intensity of Israeli-Arab wars.

(3) The final blow to detente came with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and symbolized the beginning of the New Cold War.

Q. Write a short notes on Cold War (1947-1991).

Ans. The Cold War (1947-1953) is the period within the Cold War from the Truman Doctrine in 1947 to the conclusion of the Korean War in 1953. The Cold War emerged in Europe a few years after the successful US USSR UK coalition won World War II in Europe, and extended to 1989-91. In 1947, Bernard Baruch, the multimillionaire financier and adviser to presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Harry S. Truman, coined the term

"Cold War" to describe the increasingly chilly relations between the two World War II Allies: the United States and the Soviet Union.

Some conflicts between the West and the USSR appeared earlier. In 1945-46 the US and UK strongly protested Soviet political takeover efforts in Eastern Europe and Iran, while the hunt for Soviet spies made the tensions more visible. However, historians emphasize the decisive break between the USSR and the USSR came in 1947-48 over such issues as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the Berlin Blockade, followed by the formation of NATO in 1949. The Cold War took place worldwide, but it had a partially different timing outside Europe.

Q. Find out the different causes of the Cold War.

Ans. The cold war existed in international politics for a long time due to the desire of both the super powers the USA and the USSR—to establish ideological and political supremacy over the world. After the mid '80s both countries started showing its disinterest to continue the war. The war during 1989-1991 heralds a turning point in world history. Various internal and external factors explain the sudden collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Internal Causes :

There are some internal causes for collapse of communism in former Soviet Union. The long-term causes are the most important, like.

1. Structural weaknesses in the Soviet economy.
2. Inflexible Central Soviet planning system.
3. Inefficiency and absence of incentives in agricultural production in former Soviet Union.
4. Inability to modernize.

Some scholars like Richard Crockatt listed some short term causes; such as—

- (a) "Economic stagnation in the 70's and 80's.
- (b) Poor harvests in late 1970s and early 1980s.
- (c) Gorbachev's political and economic reforms."

The former Soviet Union faced severe systematic economic problems which were multiplied during 1980's. The poor economic conditions met the challenges of computer revolution

had accentuated her economic problems. Gorbachev's new political and economic reforms like glasnost (openness) and perestroika (political and economic restructuring) were the ultimate reason of destruction of the Soviet Union. There were several reasons of destruction of the Soviet Union, but the main causes are glasnost and perestroika. The main principles of Glasnost are—

- ◆ To promote the right of freedom to criticize.
 - ◆ To slacken control on media and publishing.
 - ◆ To promote freedom of worship.
- Glasnost means the open air. As controls on press, radio, television and film industry were slackened, former Soviet Russian government lost control on public opinion. Gorbachev's reform process recorded the emergence of a newly emerging civil society distinct from the interests of the communist party and the government.

The main principles of Perestroika are—

Formation of new legislature, basically, the non-communist would be allowed to be elected.

Establishment of an executive presidency.

End of the leading role of the communist party. Introduction of new Enterprise law permitting state enterprises to sell part of their products in open market.

Joint ventures law allowing foreign companies to own Soviet enterprises.

In 1987, Gorbachev legalized private farming and business cooperatives. In the election of 1989 the cause of perestroika a large number of communist party candidates were defeated on December, 1991 the United States of Soviet socialist Republics ceased to exist and commonwealth of Independent States came into being. The Soviet Union had been dissolved into separate republics by the end of 1991.

External Causes :

Some scholars find out that cold war came to an end through geo-political commitment and military deterrence. Garthoff maintained that cold war came to an end when a new generation of Soviet leaders conceived that communist system was working badly. Gorbachev's new approach to foreign relations changed

the direction of Soviet foreign policy. The signing of INP Treaty helped in improving Soviet-American relations. Both the internal and external conditions and the interactions between the two quickened the collapse of communism in former Soviet Union.

Q. Explain the causes of the collapse of the USSR.

Ans. (1) The most momentous and world-shaking event of the 1990's having far reaching consequences for the international system and world politics is the dissolution of the Soviet Union whose leaders claimed to have established a socialist society and a historically predestined alternative to capitalist society.

(2) The dissolution of the Soviet Union was the climax of a series of the spectacular, most dramatic and most unbelievable events that took place after the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the American President decided to end the cold war at the two summits of Reykjavik and Washington.

(3) The socialist regimes had disappeared as they lost their legitimacy.

(4) The disappearance demonstrated that the socialist regimes were maintained by state coercion, backed by threat of Soviet intervention.

(5) The administrative state model of socialism, established in the majority of East European countries under the guidance and direction of the Soviet Union, did not withstand the test of time. After Stalin's death USSR faced a crisis of leadership.

(6) Poles raised their voice in 1956 and in the same year Soviet tanks destroyed an anti-communist uprising in Hungary. In 1961, Berlin wall was built to prevent East Germans to go to West Germany, another part of their divided country. The growth of the mass working class movement in Poland since 1970 was met in 1981 by the imposition of Martial Law and the declaration of the ailing Soviet leader Brezhnev of his right to intervene.

(7) The command economy and command polity in the land of "real socialism" had been undergoing changes since 1985. The Soviet system was designed to industrialise a relatively backward and underdeveloped country as rapidly as possible, and it indeed turned the USSR into a major industrial economy

in a few years and one capable of surviving and winning against Hitlerite Germany.

(8) The Soviet political system was based on a strongly hierarchical and authoritarian single party which monopolised state power, sometimes virtually substituting for the state, operating a centrally planned command economy and imposing a single mandatory Marxist-Leninist ideology on the inhabitants of the country.

(9) The system was however not "totalitarian" as the term came to be used. The de-politicisation of Russian citizenry to such a degree that they remained practically silent spectators to the collapse of the regime before their eyes. Their commitment to the party ideology was tottering evidenced by their inability to rise together against Boris Yeltsin, the president out to dismantle the socialist system's root and branch.

(10) In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev the new leader of the CPSU began with the promise of opening a new era in super-power relations through ending of the second cold war which made the Soviet economy bleeding.

(11) The attempt to change the structure of the international system in which the Soviet Union found itself, Gorbachev launched the campaign to transform Soviet socialism with the two slogans of 'perestroika' and 'glasnost'. Inevitably, large parts of the party apparatus greeted reforms with inertia concealing hostility.

(12) The fragmentation of political power and the absence of effective multilateral institutions laid the basis for disorder and political conflict. A rudderless Soviet Union drifted towards disintegration.

(13) The collapse of the Soviet Union signified the ending of an era shaped by the impact of the October Revolution and the beginning of a new era characterised by instability, crisis and uncertainty.

(14) The break-up of the USSR preceded by the collapse of the European communist regimes produced a second reshaping of Europe. The disintegration of the Soviet bloc led to the reestablishment of independent nation-states.

(15) The disintegration of the Soviet Union which removed the supposed 'Soviet threat' to Western Europe brought an end to a period when political influence of European states was reduced and constrained.

Finally, the United Nations system has undergone a tremendous change. The United Nations has become an instrument of the US policy to establish American hegemony in the world as a result of the absence of the countervailing check of the power of the Soviet Union.

Q. Find out the causes of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

Ans. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe was marked by the destruction of Berlin wall in November, 1989. It was related with changing situation in Soviet Union where it possessed roots of its own collapse.

(1) The nations of Eastern Europe had tested the communist rule for 40 years. The protests against communist rule in Eastern Europe were not new. The Soviet leaders had been forced to recognise national differences.

(2) The policy of Glasnost and Perestroika went a long way. After 1985, the Eastern European communist leaders lost the instrument—the threat of Soviet military intervention.

(3) Disintegration in Poland, and Hungary had long history, and acquired new stimulus from new policies of Gorbachev.

(4) By the middle of 1988, the opposition in Hungary had forced the removal of the communist party leader. On January 1989 Hungarian Parliament allowed independent parties to contest election.

(5) On April, 1989 an on solidarity party in Poland was repealed and during June, in 1989 the candidates of solidarity party secured victory in Poland.

(6) During September, 1989 Hungary permitted East German refugees to cross into Austria.

(7) On November 3, Czechoslovakia opened border for East German people willing to go to West Germany.

(8) On 10th November, Berlin wall was dismantled.

(9) On 10th November, Bulgarian communist party resigned and on 6th December East German government resigned.

After the collapse of the USSR its close communist regime like Eastern Europe collapsed very fast.

Q. Explain the international system after cold war Era.

Ans. The cold war was an important incident in the world history, by early 1990's it was accepted that 'cold war' is over. But the fact of the matter is that the end of cold war may have signalled a victory for the US as is evident from President Bush's much known hype that "we have won" but at the same time, the World witnessed a fundamental shift in the structure and patterns of international relations. Post cold war scenario has come to be characterized by the return of multipolarity where there is a presence of great powers and small powers. Some scholars also uphold the view that the world has become unipolar with the presence of the sole surviving super power, the United States. On the other hand there are other scholars who profess multipolarity and project the emergence of a five-way balance of power system rotating around the USA, Europe, Japan, China and the present Soviet Union.

After, the end of cold war the bi-polar system totally collapsed and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union has curtailed her power and dignity. Many states and non-state actors take active part in the management of present international system. Joseph Nye has focused multilateral mutual dependence. Both integrating and disintegrating forces are operating. Post cold war era bifurcated into two-state-centric world and multi centric world. That has led to multilayer governance. Military power, though not a salient feature of world politics in the post cold war scenario still continues to be the most reliable technique serving the interest of the big and powerful states. The war on Terror, being carried out by the US initially against Afghanistan and thereafter against Iraq post 9/11, show that the use of military power is still important and its use by the reigning superpower and its allies to the protection of their own interest is the rule of the day.

The rich European States formed a security community to reduce the chance of conflicts among them. Iraq war has breached America's relations with France, Russia and Germany. The new world order has exposed the asymmetry between

political-military power and economic power. Japan in spite of her enormous economic power, has not initiated positive move to reassert her as dominant military power. The post cold war era has recorded growing economic discrepancy developing nations have been marginalized in the new world order. NAM has emerged after the cold war and it developed its relevance in post cold war era. The cold war has been replaced by economic war. From economic perspective the world has been described as multi-polar. The end of cold war developed liberal capitalism all over the world. The capitalist states impose certain principles—open trade, liberal import, privatization as pre-conditions for granting loans and aids. Globalization has initiated sharp debates about under development and poverty. Globalization also highlighted people's awareness and consciousness about disparity between developed and underdeveloped states for reducing subsidies on certain domestic sectors. They insist on free movement of capital but regulate free movement of labour with their own countries. Due to this economic competitions, many developing countries get locked in serious economic competitions among themselves.

Post cold war era introduced rapid proliferation of nuclear arms and increasing arms sales. Ethnic rivalries-civil wars and inter-state conflicts have led to division and disintegration of a number of states. The modern world witness rapid growth of many supra-national, international and voluntary organizations. The civil societies at national and global levels have acquired currency. The world is worried over the rise of religious fundamentalism in different regions of the world. International terrorism, militant activities and criminal offences have been multiplied. The dangers increased manifold as there are chances of the terrorist outfits of getting access to the nukes, especially in the "failed states" where there is a lack of quality governance and government is weak to control the polity as well as the nuclear establishments.

Q. Explain the origin, objectives and development of the European Union.

Ans. The European Union (EU) founded on 1st November 1993 was formerly known as the European Community or the

European Economic Community. European Union created for better economic, political and social cooperation among the member countries. During the last decade, the European Union emerged as the world's major trading bloc and as an economic giant. The total strength of EU is 25. With the joining of 10 more countries on May 2004, the population of EU increased from 370 millions to 450 millions. The official language of the EU increased from 11 to 20. The development of a single economic entity was the introduction of common currency called Euro. The Euro not only unified economic strength of the member states, but also a project to do away with the US dollar domination in world market. But, all the member states have not accepted the Euro.

Objectives of the EU :

Some major objectives of the EU are as follows :

- Establishing European citizenship.
- Ensuring freedom, security and justice.
- Promoting economic and social progress.
- Asserting Europe's role in the world, common positions within international transactions.

Development :

The EU's most important achievement has been its customs union.

The six members abolished tariffs and quotas on goods from the other five member countries.

They also adopted a common external tariff on goods from the rest of the world.

As Jacob Vines pointed out in a classic analysis of trade, whether the participating countries benefit from their customs union depends on whether it creates additional trade or simply diverts trade away from the rest of the world.

The EU members resemble one another economically more than they resemble the rest of the world.

Q. Why EU regards as the center of power?

Ans. EU has a long history since its formation with the Maastricht Treaty of 1993.

□ Different new members have joined the organization, many new policies and programmes were under taken.

□ A few more treaties were signed by member-states to meet new challenges faced by the EU.

□ Amsterdam Treaty in 1996 was very much significant, the treaty focused on sustainable development of the environment and protection of consumer rights.

□ The treaty of Nice came into force in 2003 wanted to make the union more efficient and streamlined.

□ The Lisbon Treaty came into effect in December 2009, has given more power to the European Parliament and the European court of Justice.

□ The Lisbon Treaty made some reforms of EU these are : a more democratic and transparent Europe; a more efficient Europe; A Europe of rights and values, freedom, solidarity and security, Europe as an actor on the global stage.

□ Today's EU is an economic power house. The Euro within a decade of its introduction in 1999 has become one of the strongest currencies in the world.

□ The success of the EU in achieving economic integration in the continent could be ascertained from the fact that more and more countries are showing interest in joining it.

□ There are some grey areas within the European Union. In May 2007, unemployment in the union stood at 7 percent and public deficit, 0.9% of GDP.

□ There is the concern that this organization is largely dependent on other countries like Russia.

□ The financial crisis in Greece in 2010 also pose challenges to the EU.

□ Differences between France and Germany over the ways to resolve this crisis, and EU's role in this matter, made the EU appear like a disunited organization.

Q. Explain why China is an emergence centre of power after cold war.

Ans. Professor Friedman says, "The emergence of China as a unified national power under communist leadership is the most important international event of recent years." China's introduction among the Great Powers was a revolutionary, epoch-making development. During 1990's China pursued neo-realist policies and defined her national interests not only in

terms of military power but in terms of political, economic and cultural leverages. In the decade of 90's China has recognized multipolarity and multipolar division of the world community. China rejected its past policy and acknowledges inter-dependent nature of the world economy and the need to take advantages of the current international economic network. China pursues a more open door policy and the relative weight of ideology, morality and justice decreased. She heavily depends on world financial organizations for carrying on her modernization programme. Several recent events have provoked the latest announcements of China's looming ascent to super power stature and have suggested that these long-held expectations are at long last coming true. In the international paradigm China has a long way to go to rival the power in international affairs of the United States in the manner that the Soviet Union did.

The term super power, global power popularised after the 2nd World War. The two states USA and USSR was recognised as super powers. The basic components of superpower stature may be measured along four axes of power : military, economic, political and cultural. Using these dimensions, Britain was the proto type super power in the 19th century. The United States succeeded Britain as the world's second super power as an immediate consequences of World War II. America's global economic strength reflected its longstanding prominence in maritime commerce and especially maturation of its enormous industrial capacity. Since, the end of the cold war, the United States has enjoyed a period of dominance in international affairs that rivals its position immediately after World War II. Debate about American dominance was questioned and its limits of dominance was also questioned. The rise of United Europe and perhaps China and other centers of power, suggest to some that American dominance may be more a unipolar moment than a 'new American Century.'

The USSR was a Eurasian continental power, not a super power, at the end of World War II. At the end of the war it had like the United States, twelve million troops under arms. The rise of Soviet power abroad seemed to be confirmed at home

with impressive economic growth rates throughout the 1990s and to a lesser degree, in the 1960's. With the historical examples of Britain and the Soviet Union and USA, China is also bearing the potential features of the superpower.

China's Economic Power : The expanding range of China's economic interaction has provoked the most recent attention to China as an emerging superpower.

□ China's GDP makes it a member in the cast of industrialized economics but it is still a long way from economic superpower stature. In 2003, China's GDP by exchange rate measures totaled US\$ 1.159 trillion and ranked sixth in the world.

□ China has indeed become an important trading nation, but it still ranks well behind other major economics. In 2003, China ranked ninth, supplying 3.5% of the world's exports.

□ China's economic successes are impressive enough and deserve attention. The high proportion of China's economy occupied by its exports makes it sensitive to the ups and downs of the international economy.

□ **China's Military Power :** Since, 1985, China has pursued a concentrated programme of military modernization that has attracted attention and since the mid-1990's generated controversy. China increased her budget for defense allocation. Since 1989, China is developing a new generation of strategic and tactical missiles, some of which are deployed on the Chinese coast facing Taiwan. China's military modernization programs appear focused on several priorities :

□ **Acquiring 'green-water' naval and air support capacities** to defend China's coastal provinces, now the geo-graphical backbone of China's industrial economy.

□ **Establishing credible military capacities to win conflicts quickly and decisively on China's long land borders in Asia,** where the PRC still has several unresolved boundary disputes.

□ **Maintaining credible capacities to defend China in what is arguably the most heavily militarized region of the world.**

□ **Developing credible military power to compel resolution of the Taiwan question either politically or by outright military force, even in the event of American intervention on Taipei's**

behalf, and of PRC claims in the South China Sea on terms acceptable to Beijing.

□ **Preserving the credibility of China's second strike deterrent against a strategic first strike.**

□ **Most of the China's military modernization programs are negligible as addressed at these priorities.** China's navy over the last two decades has increasingly shown its flag in foreign ports around the world. China has demonstrated a capacity since the early 1980's to deploy a ballistic missile submarine and to fire a missile from it. Chinese military developments deserve vigilance in the broader context of on going military modernization efforts throughout Asia, but not alarm.

□ **China's Political and Soft Power :** China's political influence has grown over the past 3 decades.

□ **China's international prestige and political influence grew as Dengxiaping's reforms in the 1980's transformed China's economy and its relationship to the world.**

□ **The PRC's seat as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council is perhaps its asset of greatest leverage in international politics.**

□ **Beijing has preached the gospel of "multipolarity" in international politics and sought to promote. Strategic partnerships with other centers of power to balance against American hegemony.**

□ **Beijing's political influence and soft power abroad is comparably limited. No other country seeks to follow China's political model.**

□ **End of the cold war China has had some political success in collaborating with other Asian countries.**

□ **China's culture has long fascinated the West and China today has become a major tourist attraction.**

By analysing all the features, China is not now a super power, nor is it likely to emerge as one soon. It is establishing itself as a great power, on par with Great Britain, Russia, Japan, and perhaps, India. China's rise over the past two decades has been spectacular from any perspective and deserves attention and respect, especially in view of the modern world since the nineteenth century.

Q. Explain Japan as an emerging power after cold war.

Ans. The rise of Japan as an economic power in the international political economy is one of the most spectacular developments since the Second World War. Japan continues to abstain from playing a major role in the new conditions of the post-cold War World. The post war international settlement and Japan's unique place in this arrangement provided further advantages for its success.

First, demilitarisation of the country and the prohibition of rearmament diverted skills capital and energy once spent on war preparations to civilian sectors.

Second, Japanese firms gained access to the most advanced technologies at a limited cost by making licensing arrangements with American companies.

Finally, Japan's success in checking its population growth relieved the economy of population pressure.

How Japan evolved to take second place in the world among so many contending countries, some scholars tend to look at the domestic structure of the Japan, especially the role of the state in economic management. Its capitalistic economy and democratic polity, the government plays a significant role in running economy. Chalmers Johnson, a leading scholar on East Asia, described the Japanese style of state-economy relations as being "soft authoritarianism" characterised by the existence of a strong state and capitalist economy. Paul Kennedy in his famous book, *Preparing for the 21st century* finds some common distinguishing features with East Asia's fast growing states for which Japan serves a role model.

(1) Their most well known feature is their commitment to education. Based on Confucian traditions.

(2) The second characteristic is a high level of national savings.

(3) Japan has a strong political system with limited liberties and a commitment to exports, as opposed to the important substitution model that many developing countries employed in the post war years.

Many scholars projected Japan as a new model for developing countries, some worried about the rise of a strong Japan in

Asia again and still others saw it as a new potential hegemony ready to take over the United States role in the twenty-first century. However in the last decade Japan's newly acquired leadership states in overseas investments and in foreign aid, its huge financial resources, the sheer size of its GNP have been a subject matter in scholarly circles and in the power centres of the world. It was as a direct result of some important developments in the international political economy. Japan's ascendancy to second place in the world economic table has come with the erosion of the US's hegemonic status in the world. In the past five decades Japan has evolved to become one of the great powers among the nations of the world. The rise of Japan as an economic power has not been accompanied by a comparable rise in its international political and strategic weight.

Q. Find out the principles of perestroika.

Ans. (1) Formation of new legislature—2/3 of members would be elected by people's vote.

(2) Establishment of an executive presidency.

(3) End of the leading role of the communist party.

(4) Introduction of new Enterprise Law permitting state enterprises to sell part of their products in open market.

(5) Joint ventures law allowing foreign companies to own Soviet enterprises.

In 1987, Gorbachev legalized private forming and business co-operatives.

Q. Explain the policy of Glasnost.

Ans. Glasnost means open air. Gorbachev wanted to introduce this sense of openness into the Soviet Society and politics, which were considered to be rigid and closed. Freedom of speech and expression were believed to be absent in the Soviet society. Under Glasnost, freedom of speech and expression in the truest sense of the term, was allowed to the Soviet people. Under this policy to operate outside state control. As a result different different views, other than those wished by the government, started to reach the Soviet society. Under the impact of Glasnost, all kinds of change took place in the Soviet society. Free speech and free media allowed

distressed voices, suppressed so far, to speak against party bureaucracy. Glasnost paved the way for the creation of a liberal society and a multi-party democracy, and the end of the one-party rule was imminent.

Q. "Why Gorbachev showed his disinclination to continue the cold war?"

Ans. (1) The Soviet economy was in shambles during the mid 1980's, when Gorbachev assumed power and was in no way capable of continuing the cold war. Gorbachev was quite determined to realize this and had to signal the end of the war.

(2) It could be assumed that the 'star wars' strategy of American President Ronald Reagan had de-motivating effects on the Soviet Union. Gorbachev realized that it would be impossible to match American expenses on cold war because of Soviet engagements in Afghanistan and the poor shape of the Soviet economy.

(3) The closed incapacitated Soviet economy would have in any case crumbled with or without the ones of the cold war. This uncomfortable situation led Gorbachev to initiate Perestroika to instil life in the Soviet economy and discontinue the cold war.

Q. Is the world strictly unipolar today?

Ans. There are some powers in the international order which can pose a challenge to the superiority of the US. China is believed by many to be one such power. It has a very strong military, the second strongest in the world. The European Union is also surging ahead despite different odds. Russia has inherited most of the military might of former Soviet Union. A United Germany has the potential to be a power to notice. International politics is ever-changing, it is dynamic. It had never accelerated by any particular order as permanent. After the World War II, international political system faced bi-polar world. After the cold war bi-polar world system shifted into unipolar world structure. But there are some powers, as has been just mentioned which can pose a threat to the US supremacy. All this makes the current international order loaded with multipolar characteristics, where more than one power may exercise influence in world politics. New pink waves of latin

American countries like Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia develop a new international world order which is not unipolar, nor bi-polar but obviously multipolar.

Q. Find out the major reforms of the EU introduced by Maastricht Treaty.

Ans. (1) A more democratic and transparent Europe : The treaty has provided for a strengthened role for the European Parliament and national parliaments, more opportunities for citizens to have their voices heard and a clearer sense of who does what at European and national levels. For the first time, the possibility for a member-state to withdraw from the union.

(2) A more efficient Europe : The treaty, with simplified working methods and voting rules, streamlined modern institutions for a EU of 27 members and an improved ability to act in areas of priority for today's union.

(iii) A Europe of rights and values, freedom, solidarity and security are ensuring better protection of European citizens.

(iv) Europe as an actor on the global stage. It harnesses Europe's economic, humanitarian, political and diplomatic strengths to promote European interests and values worldwide, while respecting particular interests of the member-states in foreign affairs.

Q. Do you think Japan as an emerging center of power?

Ans. The rise of Japan as an economic power in the international political economy is one of the most spectacular developments since the Second World War. Japan continues to abstain from playing a major role in the new conditions of the post-cold War World. The post war international setting and Japan's unique place in this arrangement provided further advantages for its success.

First, demilitarisation of the country and the prohibition of armament diverted skills, capital and energy once spent on war preparations to civilian sectors.

Second, Japanese firms gained access to the most advanced technologies at a limited cost by making licensing arrangements with American companies.

Finally, Japan's success in checking its population growth relieved the economy of population pressure.

How Japan evolved to take second place in the world among so many contending countries, some scholars tend to look at the domestic structure of the Japan, especially the role of the state in economic management. Its capitalistic economy and democratic polity, the government plays a significant role in running economy. Chalmers Johnson, a leading scholar on East Asia, described the Japanese style of state-economy relations as being "soft authoritarianism" characterised by the existence of a strong state and capitalist economy. Paul Kennedy in his famous book *Preparing for the 21st century* finds some common distinguishing features with East Asia's fast growing states for which Japan serves a role model.

(1) Their most well known feature is their commitment to education. Based on Confucian traditions.

(2) The second characteristic is a high level of national savings.

(3) Japan has a strong political system with limited liberties and a commitment to exports, as opposed to the import-substitution model that many developing countries employed in the post-war years.

Many scholars projected Japan as a new model for developing countries, some worried about the rise of a strong Japan in Asia again and still others saw it as a new potential hegemony ready to take over the United States role in the twenty-first century. However in the last decade Japan's newly acquired leadership status in overseas investments and in foreign aid, its huge financial resources, the sheer size of its GNP have been a subject matter in scholarly circles and in the power centres of the world. It was as a direct result of some important developments in the international political economy. Japan's ascendancy to second place in the world economic table has come with the erosion of the US hegemonic status in the world. In the past five decades Japan has evolved to become one of the great powers among the nations of the world. The rise of Japan as an economic power has not been accompanied by a comparable rise in its international political and strategic weight.

Q. Why Britain exist from the EU?

Or, What Brexit?

Ans. Brexit was the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. In 2016 June referendum in which 52% voted to leave and 48% voted to stay, the UK government formally announced the country's withdrawal in March 2017, beginning the Brexit process. The withdrawal was delayed by a deadlock in the UK parliament. The parliament ratified the withdrawal agreement, and the UK left the EU at 11 p.m. GMT on 31st January 2020. This began a transition period that is set to end on 31st December 2020, during which the UK and EU will negotiate their future relationship. The UK remains subject to EU law and remains part of the EU customs union and single market during the transition, but is no longer part of the EU's political bodies or institutions. Withdrawal was advocated by Euro sceptics and opposed by pro-Europeanists, with both spanning the political spectrum. The UK joined EC and EEC and continued to her membership in EU. On 29 March 2017 the UK government formally began the withdrawal process by invoking Article 50 of the treaty on EU with permission from parliament.

Many effects of Brexit depend on how closely the UK will be tied to the EU, or whether the transition period ends without terms being agreed. The broad consensus among economists is that Brexit will likely harm the UK's economy and reduce its real per capita income in the long term, and that the referendum itself damaged the economy. Brexit is likely to reduce immigration from European Economic Area countries to the UK and poses challenges for UK higher Education, academic research and security. Brexit, EU law and the EU court of Justice no longer have supremacy over UK laws or its Supreme Court, except to a temporary extent. The EU Act 2018 retains relevant EU laws as domestic law, which the UK could then amend or repeal.

Q. Explain the determinants of India's foreign policy.

Ans. India's foreign policy have been shaped by India's historical experiences, her national traditions distinct philosophy of life and idealistic visions. India being reluctant to join the

cold war rivalries charted her independent, non-aligned foreign policy. Such unique foreign policy soon enjoyed popularity among other new nations of the world. India's foreign policy may be said to represent a unique blend of idealism and realism. It has been determined by the interplay of a large number of factors like history, geography, economic development, personalities and political circumstances, domestic milieu as well as international setting etc.

(1) Historical background : India has played a very crucial role as the champion of World Peace and Harmony. India believes that wars can never be the proper solution for all the problems in this world. India is convinced that all the problems should be solved by negotiations between nations. India's Ashoka Chakra is the symbol of humanity, love, peace, goodwill and toleration. India has realised that lasting peace in the world can only be achieved when all nations big and small have full access for all-round development.

(2) Geo-political Factors : India is situated in a strategic part of Asia set in the centre of Indian ocean with close connections with West-Asia, South-East Asia and East-Asia. India's central location on the main trade routes between Europe and Far-East India also offers strategic air routes. Again, bordered on the north by the world's highest mountains, the country is protected from winter cold of the north and that has denied it easy communication with inner Asia. India's command over Indian ocean remains vital for her security interests and trade transactions.

India's foreign policy bears the imprint of her political tradition and history. The roots of India's foreign policy can be traced to her age-old civilization national independence movement and Gandhian philosophy "Prof. Jayantanuj Bandopadhyay conclude India's political tradition as follow-

(a) Idealist view of politics and power with emphasis on peace and non-violence; (b) Idealist approach to internationalism; (c) Anti imperialism and Asianism.

(3) Economic Factors : The goal of attainment of self reliance in the economic sphere characterises an important feature of India's foreign policy. Immediately after independence India

adopted a policy of planned economic development. Widespread poverty and economic underdevelopment call for rapid economic growth and economic prosperity peace has been adored as the minimum pre-condition for her economic development. The diplomacy of economic development prompted India to avoid entanglement with any power block and to promote friendly relations with all economic groups.

(4) Domestic Factors : India's foreign policy is shaped by her own national interests. The Indian foreign policy has been characterised by a significant extent of stability since her independence. Indian people are ready to accept truth inherent in any ideology. The people accept liberal democratic principle. India's policy of non-alignment, anti imperialist posture and anti racial attitude received widespread public approval.

(5) Strategic Factors : India's common borders with her immediate neighbours and their foreign policy programme have affected India's foreign policy and its orientation. During the post cold war era changing paradigms of world's politics call for new foreign policy initiatives.

Q. Explain the objectives of India's foreign policy.

Ans. According to Prof. K.J. Holsti assumes that the foreign policy of a sovereign state has three goals like—core objectives, middle range goals, (c) universal long-range goals. India is concerned with preservation of her independence and sovereignty.

(1) The concept of national interest is rather ambiguous. It entails preservation of national security by safe guarding territorial integrity and national sovereignty. India's foreign policy puts priority on rapid economic development.

(2) India's foreign policy pledges to promote international peace and security. India fervently appeals for universal and non-discriminatory disarmament.

(3) India welcomes national liberation struggles of all colonies. India's foreign policy sharply opposes imperialism and its manifestations.

(4) India's foreign policy vehemently opposes racism and its practices.

(5) Indian foreign policy prefers peaceful and political solution of all international disputes.

(6) India pins faith on sacred principle of peaceful co-existence. India proclaims her commitment to Panchsheel.

(7) India aspires to forge unity and solidarity among developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

(8) Indian foreign policy is committed to the ideal of non-alignment. India resolved to avoid entanglement with any power block associated with cold war rivalries and to preserve her freedom of activities.

(9) Indian foreign policy aspires to secure a democratic and more egalitarian world order.

(10) To follow the principle of non-alignment.

Q. Write down the basic features of NAM.

Ans. The basic features of NAM are :

(1) Though NAM emerged in the context of decolonisation of internal politics, it was not the result of, as many Western writers believe, the cold war.

(2) Non-alignment is an expression of the struggle of the new nations for strengthening their independence. It is a continuation of the decolonisation process started in 1947. The NAM is closely associated with nationalism and anti-nationalism which provided the basic drive in the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa since the end of the Second World War.

(3) Western imperialism should not therefore be allowed to return in any form whatever. NAM is more anti-Western than anti-Soviet.

(4) NAM is not committed to any particular ideology. It is characterised by ideological and functional diversity. It is not based on the basis of power in any manner but on the basis of peaceful co-existence of different economic and political systems. NAM is thus a plural model of international relations.

(5) In Lusaka summit of 1970 NAM has been emphasising the need for restructuring the existing international economic relations and the establishment of a new economic order.

(6) The NAM has opened up new dimensions of international theory. The system of NAM that has emerged is not based on power but is communication based. The nam bloc is essentially

voluntary, every member acts independently and avoids alliances; it is communication which is the only "associative influence."

(7) NAM thus presents an alternative model to the orthodox power model of international relations.

The NAM countries have themselves become a significant factor of the world balance and consequently, of peace in the world as well.

Q. Write down the contribution of NAM.

Ans. [1] The NAM from the beginning is based on the principles of communication, on exchange of information and ideas, their articulation, aggregation and ventilation.

(2) NAM has played a vital role in accelerating the process of decolonization in post-war world.

(3) NAM has acted as a potential force against racial discrimination. It has encouraged anti-racial movement throughout Africa and Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

(4) NAM is opposed to neo-colonialism with all its manifestation. The movement has proposed various constructive steps to get rid of neo-colonial exploitation such as revision of international trade rules, reform of international financial system, reforms.

(5) NAM also voiced protest against hegemonism of big powers and their unwanted interference and meddling in internal affairs of many weak and vulnerable non-aligned states.

(6) NAM has localized many inter-state conflicts and checked the escalation of such conflicts into wider conflagration.

(7) NAM has espoused the cause of disarmament and arms control measures. The movement opposes nuclear arms race and non-discriminatory nuclear non-proliferation treaties.

(8) NAM has contributed much in forging unity among developing countries.

(9) NAM has not fostered negative and passive attitude to international problems and crises. NAM also puts priority on non military measures for settlement of all international disputes.

(10) NAM has expounded the cause of South-South cooperation as viable alternative to neo-colonial exploitation.

and effective steps for solution of many economic curse of non-aligned countries.

(11) The Nam lodged protests against excessive dominance of big powers over world news, media and information channels.

(12) The NAM has facilitated international cooperation for human welfare.

(13) The NAM has endeavoured to reinforce the egalitarian and democratic trends in world politics.

Q. Explain the relevance of NAM in contemporary world politics.

Ans. The end of the cold war followed by the cessation of hostilities between the super power blocks and being replaced, in many instances, by dialogue negotiation and accommodation. The end of the cold war has replaced the "nuclear bomb" with "social bomb" with poverty, underdevelopment, violence and terrorism topping the priority list and getting intertwined with the security problem of the south to which there can be no military solution. Such adverse economic global structure continues to negatively affect the developing countries, and NAM has a definite role in working towards a New World order to help its member countries to alleviate the sufferings of its population. The culture of peace, cooperation, striving for a new and just world order will continue as long as the world is based upon an inequitable international system. In recent years, Nam countries failed to wage united movement against many discriminatory clauses of GATT, 1994 and WTO. That has exposed the weaknesses of Nam movement. The international non-aligned movement still bears relevance. It can still serve political, economic, security and humanitarian purposes.

(1) From political perspective, non-aligned movement can forge unity and political cooperation among developing countries.

(2) From economic perspective, non-aligned movement may wage protests against neo-colonial economic exploitation and inequitable economic order. The developed countries are espousing the cause of free trade and open market. The movement must continue relentless struggles against prevailing economic inequalities, injustice, deprivation and discriminatory trade rules.

(3) NAM still bears relevance from security perspective. No weak developing state can safeguard its own security. NAM can consolidate its position as a strong force against big power hegemonism.

(4) NAM can play crucial role in checking armament race among non-aligned countries. The Nam can organize steps for removing discriminatory clauses of CTBT and for checking proliferation of nuclear arms.

(5) NAM can play constructive role in protecting human rights and preventing gross violation of human rights in many corners of the world.

(6) NAM countries can sponsor collective measures for protection of natural environment, ecological balance, control of narcotic drugs and terrorism.

(7) NAM can play a catalytic role in foreign south-south cooperation among developing countries for resolving many common problems facing NAM countries.

Q. State why India has been treated as an emerging power.

Ans. The republic of India is considered one of the emerging super powers of the world. In 2015, India became the world's fastest growing economy with an 7.5% estimated GDP rate. The country must overcome many economic, social, and political problems before it can be considered a super power. A country that has the capacity to project dominating power and influence anywhere in the world, generally characterizes by strong growth rate, defense power and foreign influence and so may plausibly attain the status of global hegemony.

(1) Demographic Factors : As per the demographic reports, 55% of Indian population is below the age of 25 years. India is the youngest country in the world. These young Indians are approaching their earning years.

(2) Security Factors : The Indian Army has a total troop strength of around 2.5 million. It is the second largest standing army in the world. Indian Navy currently operates more than 155 vessels, including the INS Viraat, the only aircraft carrier in Asia operating jet fighters. The Indian Air Force has a strength of approximately 170,000 personnel and 1,242 combat aircraft.

It is the fourth largest air force in the world after US, Russia and China.

(3) Economic Factors : In 1991, India was a member of the G 77 group of developing India is a proud member of the G 20, the most powerful countries in the world. India is as much a donor as a recipient. Meanwhile India itself has become a substantial donor, including a line of credit of \$10 billion to Africa, \$ 2 billion to Bangladesh. India now finances itself overwhelmingly on commercial terms, not through aid. Its per capita income has shot up from \$ 375 in 2011 to \$ 1,700 today, taking it from low-income to middle-income status. Between 2004 and 2011, a record 138 million Indians were raised above the poverty line. India was historically an economic laggard. Now a days, India is the fastest growing major economy in the world, touching 7.6% in 2016 after a similar rate in 2015.

(4) Political Factors : India is the world's largest democratic republic. India's democracy has improved its relations with other democratic nations and significantly improved its ties with the majority of the nations in the developed world. India has been pressing for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council but with a clause that it won't exercise its veto for the next 15 years.

India has developed relationships with the world powers like the EU, Japan, Russia, and the USA. It also developed relationships with the AU, Arab World, South East Asia. It has significantly boosted its image among Western nations and signed a civilian nuclear deal with the USA. It also working for better relationships with Pakistan.

Historically, India was one of the founder member of NAM and played a crucial role in the Bangladesh Liberation war and in Srilanka. Active member of the Commonwealth and the WTO. A new and highly controversial geo-political strategy, being debated in the West, is whether India should be trusted to become an economically strong democratic citizen of the world, and be used to balance the powerful but non-democratic forces, to ensure a more stable world. A new American strategy towards India has been indicated in George W. Bush's recent visit to the subcontinent.

India's current economic growth world's fastest growing major economy as of has improved its standing on the world's political stage, even though it is still a developing country but one that is showing strong development.

Many flaws still remain, corruption, waste and sloth are rife everywhere. Education and health remain deplorable. Indian institutions are low-equality, weak and subservient to political interference.

Q. Main objectives of the Belgrade Summit, 1961.

Ans. (1) The first summit conference at Belgrade was attended by 25 countries.

(2) Represented by South Asia and North Africa.

(3) Euro-centric issues predominated the proceedings of the conference.

(4) The delegates voiced their protests against cold war and the presence and pulls of military alliance.

(5) The conference concern for colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Q. Havana Summit 1979.

Ans. (1) During 1978 and 1979 fresh controversies appeared regarding the general principles and purposes of NAM.

(2) The declaration covered a wide range of issues including problems of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, West Asia and economic problems such as North-South dialogue, food and agriculture.

(3) The conference committed the OPEC members of the movement to continue oil supplies to other members and additional aid in investment.

Q. Jakarta Summit, 1992.

Ans. (1) The summit was held in 1992 in post-cold war era.

(2) Raised the demands for restructuring the united Nations with a broad-based Security Council.

(3) The summit called for North-South dialogues and insisted on South-South cooperation, especially, between capital rich and capital deficit developing countries.

(4) Technologically advanced and technologically backward developing countries.

India's current economic growth world's fastest growing major economy as of has improved its standing on the world's political

stage, even though it is still a developing country but one that is showing strong development.

Q. Write down the structure of NAM.

Ans. (1) NAM has no fixed organisational structure.

(2) It is non-hierarchical in nature and no country enjoys any special privileges.

(3) The organization does not have any constitution.

(4) The Head of the state or the head of the Government of the country where a NAM summit is held becomes the chairperson of the NAM for the next three years.

(5) 15 non-aligned summits were held from 1961 to 2009 in different parts of the world.

(6) After the cold war the NAM to continue as a significant organization, but doubts were raised regarding its continued survival.

EXTRA : IMPORTANT QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Q. Explain the concept of National Power in international relations. What are the elements of National Power?

Ans. International politics is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international relations, power is always the immediate aim. Power is the capacity to impose one's will on other by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance.

National power is that combination of power and capability of a state which the state uses for fulfilling its national interests and goals. That is, national power denotes the ability of a nation to fulfil national goals. It is said that power is the ability of a nation to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with its own ends. Unless a nation can do this, she may be large, she may be wealthy, she may even be great but she is not powerful. So, the national power is more than the sumtotal of population, raw materials, and quantitative factors. The alliance potential of a nation, its civic devotion, the flexibility of its institutions, its technical know-how, its capacity to endure private—these are but a few quantitative elements that determine the total strength of a nation.

Elements of National Power : The major characteristic of a sovereign state is its national power. It is the strength or capacity that a state can use to achieve its own interest in international politics. The main elements of national power are discussed below :

(A) Geography : National power is firmly rooted in the geography of a nation self-sufficiency in the attainment of energy and prosperity, advanced and progressive life, the ways of freedom, the development of agriculture and industry depend upon the geographical conditions of the nation. Most important among the geographical factors are the size of a country, its climate, its topography and location. For instance, climate has an indirect effect on culture, economy, natural resources and

political organisation; and direct on health and energy of persons. Topographical features include mountains, oceans, rivers, forests and the like. And the location determines the country's security.

(B) Population : Population is the most potential factor which contributes to the national power. A nation is more capable of becoming a big power with a larger population. Large population can help in increasing the agricultural and manufacturing production. A large labour force contributes to the economic growth. Population stimulates national productivity by exploiting the natural resources. Lastly, population will be strength if the state has the means to utilise its talent, energy, and maintain a proper standard of living.

(C) Natural Resources : Natural resources are the permanent factors of national power. They are the gift of nature of established utility. They include minerals, waterfall, and fertility of soil. No country can develop an industrial base unless it possesses sufficient natural resources and raw materials. Again, the foodstuff is of prime importance and a country enjoying self-sufficiency in this direction has great advantage over others. However, too much dependence on foreign food considerably weakens the international status of a state.

(D) Economic Development : It is an important indicator of national power. A country's power rests upon its industrialisation. A nation should have a surplus production and it contributes to a national power. A nation with satisfactory economic organisation can also reward others. Again, the economically developed countries influence the backward countries by providing capital.

(E) Military Preparation : The quality of leadership of the armed forces plays a decisive role in the development of national power. A nation to be strong must possess a sufficient army composed of highly trained and heavily armed units.

(F) Diplomatic Leadership : Diplomacy of high quality will bring the ends and means of foreign policy into harmony with the available resources of national power. It will tap the hidden resources of national strength and transform them fully and securely into political relatives.

However, there are some limitations on the national power—balance of power, international morality, world public opinion, disarmament, international law, and the international organisation like the League of Nations, and the United Nations Organisation.

Q. Discuss the nature and characteristics of Diplomacy.

Ans. Diplomacy is the brain of national power, as national morale is its soul. It is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states. It is employed as a synonym for foreign policy because diplomacy is the process by which foreign policy is carried out. Diplomacy stands for an abstract quality, gift and skill to conduct international negotiations. Further, it is also the science of fraud and favour. Diplomacy seeks to adjust national with international interests. It seeks by the use of reasons, conciliation and the exchange of interest to prevent major conflicts between the sovereign states. Thus, diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist.

Characteristics of Diplomacy :

The Characteristics of diplomacy are as follows :

(1) Diplomacy is neither the art of deceit or propaganda nor does it involve something immoral.

(2) It is a normal means of conducting international relations. It consists of techniques and procedures for conducting relations among nations.

(3) In itself diplomacy, like any machinery, is neither moral nor immoral; the use and value depend upon the intentions and abilities of those who practice it.

(4) Diplomacy functions through a labyrinth of foreign offices, embassies, legations, consulates, and special missions all over the world.

(5) Diplomacy is commonly bilateral in character, but as a result of the growing importance of international conferences, international organisations, regional arrangements, and collective bargaining, its multilateral aspects have in the recent times, become increasingly significant.

(6) Some writers hold that diplomacy operates only in time of peace and when war breaks out, diplomacy comes to an end. However, this is not a correct view. Diplomacy continues to operate even when war breaks out. Of course, during war its nature undergoes a big change, from peace diplomacy it takes the form of war diplomacy.

(7) The purpose of diplomacy is to secure the goals of national interest as defined and specified by the foreign policy. Diplomacy is always limited by the policies of the government it represents.

(8) Diplomacy is compatible with international law. It works on the basis of international law and the diplomatic practice has been one of the richest sources of international law. Moreover, peace and security are the objectives of national interest of each nation as well as of the international society. Hence, diplomacy and international law both work, and ideas should always work together for promoting peace and security in international politics.

(9) Success in diplomacy is measured in terms of the amount of success achieved towards the fulfilment of the goals of national interest over and above the national interests of other nations.

The characteristics described above highlight the nature of diplomacy. One can describe diplomacy as an instrument of national interest. It seeks to secure peacefully the goals of national interest in international politics. It is the art and skill of conducting international relations.

Q. Discuss the relation between Diplomacy and Foreign Policy.

Ans. Diplomacy and foreign policy are so intimately related that in common usage these are very often used as synonyms. The statement "British diplomacy in Middle East lacks" vaguely equates diplomacy with foreign policy. However, this is not an acceptable proposition in international relations. Diplomacy and foreign policy are related but have different roles.

Whereas foreign policy is the plan and the programme formulated for securing the goals of national interest of the nation, diplomacy is the means and the tactics employed for implementing the foreign policy. Foreign policy of a nation

relates to other nations on the wheels of diplomacy. It is the substance of foreign relations. Diplomacy is the process by which foreign policy is implemented abroad. Diplomacy proper is the process by which foreign policy is carried out. It provides the machinery and the personnel by which foreign policy is operationalised. One is the substance, the other a method. The diplomats do not determine the principles of their government's foreign policy but with their reports they render important help in policy formulation. During the course of the determination of foreign policy, the reports of the diplomats are always taken as raw material.

We may say that both foreign policy and diplomacy are concerned with adjustment of national interest. Foreign policy is based upon a general conception of national requirements. Diplomacy, on the other hand, is not an end but a means, not a purpose but a method. It seeks, by the use of reason, conciliation and exchange of interests, to prevent major conflicts arising between the sovereign states. It is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war. Thus, when agreement becomes impossible, diplomacy which is the instrument of peace becomes inoperative; and the foreign policy, the final sanction of which is war alone, becomes operative.

It is said that diplomacy is not foreign policy, but is the instrument for implementing it. Both are supplementary to each other because without one, the other cannot work. Diplomacy has no separate existence apart from foreign policy. It is bound to behave like an aimlessly drifting rudderless ship without being guided and conditioned by foreign policy. Similarly, foreign policy, however well formulated and rational it may be, can become neither operational nor successful without being carried out by diplomacy. Both together determine executive policy. Foreign policy is strategy, diplomacy is the tactics. Foreign policy is the soul of foreign relations, diplomacy is the activity through which foreign policy is enforced. In order to have successful relations with other nations, a nation must combine rational foreign policy with subtle diplomacy.

To conclude, diplomacy and foreign-policy are two vitally important instruments of a nation's behaviour in international relations. International politics is the process of interactions among the foreign policies of various nations and diplomatic activity, particularly diplomatic negotiations from the care of these interactions. Thus, foreign policy and diplomacy are the two wheels of international relations.

Q. Distinguish between the Traditional Diplomacy and the Modern Diplomacy.

Ans. Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states. It is employed as a synonym for foreign policy because diplomacy is the process by which the foreign policy is carried out. Thus, diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist.

The traditional diplomacy was often described as quiet diplomacy as the negotiations were carried out by the sovereign or diplomat in strict secrecy without any publicity or public debate. On the otherhand, the modern democracy is the execution of foreign policy, either by the politicians themselves, or through the medium of untrained negotiators whom they have selected from among their own supporters or personal friends.

In the twentieth century, the distinction between the traditional diplomacy and the modern diplomacy are as follows:

(A) The traditional diplomacy was essentially European in character and concerned with European policies alone. Africa or Asia were either isolated or dominated by the European nations, and did not figure in the then diplomacy. On the otherhand, the modern democracy is concerned with the big and small powers; even though the small powers do not play any significant role. All the independent nations are the members of the U.N.O.

(B) Under the traditional diplomacy, only great powers were responsible for the maintenance of the international peace, while, to-day, the peace is the equal concern of both big and small powers.

(C) In the traditional diplomacy, the monarch as a sovereign was the source of all authority and the people had no voice in the foreign matters. The negotiations were carried out by the sovereign or the professional diplomats. But, in the new diplomacy, the constitutional monarchy or democracy are concerned with the system of national status with open policy.

(D) The traditional diplomacy was the monopoly of the aristocratic class and the professional diplomats had similar social status, education and understood each other better. On the otherhand, the modern diplomacy is under the control of the civil servants drawn from all sections of society who possess a democratic rather than aristocratic outlook.

(E) The traditional democracy was concerned with the ultimate interests of the nation, whereas the modern diplomacy aims at satisfying the immediate wishes of the electorate.

(F) The traditional democracy was secret. All negotiations were carried on secretly. But the modern democracy is conducted in the open through various conferences where decisions are taken openly.

(G) The traditional diplomacy was oligarchic, malicious, and obscure, whereas the modern diplomacy is democratic, beneficial, and limpid.

(H) In the traditional diplomacy, the diplomats enjoyed a lot of discretion. The home government or the foreign minister had to accept the views of the diplomats. But the modern diplomacy has virtually reduced the diplomats to the status of the dignified clerks who are expected to faithfully carry out the instructions from the foreign office.

In conclusion, we can reiterate that the traditional and modern democracies differ only in outward appearance and their substance is the same. The distinctions between the two are due to the fact that diplomacy is a continuous process. It is said that the difference between the traditional and modern diplomacy is a popular illusion.

Q. Write notes on Secret Diplomacy and Open Diplomacy.

Or, Distinguish between Secret Diplomacy and Open Diplomacy.

Ans. Diplomacy is the brain of national power, as national morale is its soul. We may say that diplomacy and foreign

policy are so intimately related that in common usage these are very often used as synonyms. Diplomacy has two principal styles of its own secret diplomacy and open diplomacy.

The term *secret diplomacy* is used to designate the diplomatic practice of conducting secret negotiations and making secret pacts, alliances and treaties. In secret diplomacy, no attempt is made to take the people into confidence, and little information about diplomatic activity is provided to the public. Secrecy is considered vital for the success of diplomacy. The underlying assumption is that people in general have neither the interest nor the ability to understand foreign affairs, and that involvement of general public in foreign affairs can lead to unwanted and unhealthy pressures on the functioning of diplomacy.

It may be pointed out in favour of secret diplomacy is that secrecy in the interest of the nation is an imperatively necessary condition of successful diplomacy. Secret negotiations help the diplomats to be free and frank in expressing their views. But secret diplomacy leads to deceit, double dealings, and irresponsibility on the parts of diplomats. Besides, there exists no justification for making secret treaties and alliances because every treaty or alliance has a direct bearing upon the future of the people of the state.

Open diplomacy is the opposition of secret diplomacy. In the age of democracy, it is argued that the people have the right and duty to know and participate in the foreign policy decision-making. Being the sovereign people, they have the right to secure accountability of all the personnel of government including the diplomats. As such, it is considered essential that diplomacy must take into account popular wishes, and must inform the public about the nature and progress of various diplomatic negotiations, and about the final agreement or disagreement resulting from such negotiations. Diplomacy must be accountable to the public (people) and for this it is essential that people must know as to what diplomacy is doing and what are its achievements and failure.

It may be said that open diplomacy is the best way of involving the people in the process of securing national interests

and making them politically conscious. Again, it is the duty of the people to keep diplomacy under check and prevent it from leading the nation into an environment of tensions, strains and war. However, it is to be noted that open diplomacy can be misleading in practice because the need for securing public sympathy for an essential state act can make the diplomats practise window-dressing and false propaganda.

The best way, however, can be middle way—open diplomacy in respect of the facts of treaties, alliances, and agreements which a nation makes with other nations; and secret diplomacy in respect of diplomatic negotiations. The ideal is to let the public know what is considered good for the protection and promotion of national interest. The guiding principle in determining whether a particular diplomatic negotiation is to be kept secret or made public should be the consideration for national interest. If national interest demands secrecy it must be maintained otherwise it is always better to make things public. The question how much should be told and when, and in what respect of the subject, should be decided by the leaders.

Q. Define Diplomacy. Discuss the main tasks of diplomacy.

Ans. Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states. It is employed as a synonym for foreign policy because diplomacy is the process by which the foreign policy is carried out. Thus, diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist.

Main tasks of Diplomacy :

For securing the primary objectives, diplomacy has to undertake four main tasks which are in themselves the objectives of diplomacy.

(A) Diplomacy must determine its objectives in the light of the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives. A nation that pursues goals which are not backed by adequate and essential national power can face the risk of war in international relations. By over indulgence it can

invite the risk of war. Hence, diplomacy must weigh the objectives against the available power, both actual and potential, before committing itself for securing these objectives.

(B) Diplomacy must assess the objectives of other nations and the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives. If a nation fails to do this, it again can invite the risk of war. Both over-rating and under-rating of power of other nations can be fatal to the cause of peace.

(C) Diplomacy must determine as to what extent the different objectives are compatible with each. A nation that seeks to pursue and intelligent and peaceful foreign policy cannot cease comparing its own objectives and the objectives of other nations in the light of their compatibility. In case the interests are compatible then the task of diplomacy becomes easier, but if the interests are incompatible, diplomacy has to act actively and effectively for securing the national interests through bargaining, give and take, and compromises.

(D) Diplomacy must employ the means suited to the pursuit of its objectives. Out of the three available means—persuasion, compromise, and threat of force, it is the diplomacy which decides as to which means are to be used, at what time and in relation to which nations. The art of diplomacy consists in putting the right emphasis at any particular moment on which each of these three means (persuasion, compromise, and threat of war) at its disposal.

These are the four tasks of diplomacy. Failure in any one of these tasks seriously jeopardise the success of the foreign policy of the nation and with it the peace of the world.

Q. What are the functions of the Diplomat in the international relations?

Ans. The diplomat plays a key role in international relations. He is the nerve-centre and brain of the foreign policy of his country. He represents his state in its relations with the independent states. Diplomacy is an instrument of conflict-management in international relations. It is a factor of both national power and foreign policy of a nation. Further, in times of peace and war, the diplomat continues to play an effective for preserving world peace.

The diplomat has to undertake a number of functions. They are discussed below :

(1) The diplomat of the nation is the symbolic representative of the state and as such he represents his state and government in all official ceremonies and functions as well as in non-official social and cultural functions held in the place of his posting. The symbolic functions provide opportunities to test the prestige in which the nation is held abroad as well as to exhibit the regard and prestige his own country has for the country where he is sent.

(2) A diplomat formally represent his country in a foreign state. He is the normal agent of communication between his home office and that of the state to which he is accredited. It is said that—in the eyes of many citizens of the country in which he is stationed, he is the country he represents, and that country is judged according to the personal impression he makes. The diplomat's representation is legal and political. He can vote in the name of his government. Of course, in doing so, he is totally bound by the directions of his home office and the foreign policy of the nation.

(3) Diplomats are by definition negotiators. They are the channels of communication which handle the transmission of messages between foreign ministries of the sending and host countries. Along with the nature of the message, the manner and style of delivering the message can greatly influence the course of negotiations. An intelligent and tactful diplomat can deliver a negative message in such a way as can dilute the adverse reactions of the other side. It is mainly through negotiations that a diplomat seeks to secure agreements and compromises over various conflictual issues and problems between his state and the state where he is posted. He prepares the agenda of international meetings, drafts the resolutions of treaties which are to be negotiated, conducts negotiations and attempts to reach agreements. However, the role of diplomat in conducting negotiations has declined in our times because of the emergence of multilateral diplomacy, personal diplomacy, and the direct communication links among the leaders and top statesmen of the world. The diplomats, to-day, do not play as

great a role in international negotiations as was previously played by them. Nevertheless, they continue to be the legal and formal channels of negotiations in international relations.

(4) Reporting involves the observation of the political, economic, military, and social conditions of the host country and the accurate transmission of the findings to the home country. The political reporting involves a report about the assessment of the roles of the various political parties in the politics of the host country. It seeks to assess the friendliness or hostility of the various political groupings towards the home state. Economic reporting involves sending of reports to the home office containing general information about the economic health and trade potential of the host country. Military reporting involves an assessment of military might, intentions and capabilities as the strategic importance of the host country. Social and cultural reporting is of auxiliary importance and is usually carried out to the extent that it relates to political, economic, and military affairs. The reporting function of diplomacy is more important function than the conducting of negotiations.

(5) The diplomat is always at work for protecting and promoting the interests of the nation and its people living abroad. Protection of interests is the bedrock of the practice of diplomacy. It is the supreme duty of a diplomat to look after the interests of his country, as interpreted by the policy-makers, back home, and in accordance with treaties, other international agreements, and principles of international law. The diplomat always attempts to prevent or correct practices which he feels are discriminatory to the interests of his country or its citizens.

Through all these functions, the diplomat plays an important role in international relations, and more particularly in the context of the formulation and implementation of the foreign policy of the state that it represents. It has been rightly said that—As the foreign office is the nerve centre of foreign policy, so are the diplomatic representatives, its outlying fibres maintaining the two-way traffic between the centre and the outside world.

INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Q. Discuss the purpose and principles of the U. N. O. as set forth in the charter.

Ans. The United Nations Organisation has emerged from the ashes of the Second World War. During the war, the big powers have earnestly felt the necessity of a world organisation like the U. N. O. As a result, the charter of the United Nations Organisation has finally approved at the San Francisco Conference and the U. N. has officially come into existence on 24th October, 1945. At present, the United Nations consists of more than 200 memberstates.

The primary aim of the United Nations is to save the succeeding generations from war. Thus peace, Human Dignity, Justice, and Welfare have been cited as the basic objectives of the United Nations. Let us now analyse the purpose and principles of the U. N. O.

Purposes : The purposes are an aggregation of the common ends on which the minds of the signatories of the charter of the United Nations met.

First : The primary and foremost purpose of the U. N. O. is to maintain international peace and security. The organisation is to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression in accordance with the principle of justice and international law.

Second : The United Nations Organisation aims at developing friendly relations among the nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in order to strengthen universal peace.

Third : Another main purpose of the United Nations Organisation is to promote co-operation and co-ordination among the states in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian character. This implies promoting social progress, respect for all and observance of human rights for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Co-operation in the economic field implies promoting

higher standards of life, full employment and conditions of economic progress.

Fourth : As an international organisation, the United Nations is to act as a centre for harmonising the actions of the member states in the attainment of common ends.

Other purpose may also be mentioned here : (a) The United Nations Charter acknowledges the right of individual states to form regional arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security. All the efforts for the maintenance of peace and security by regional organisations should be consistent with the U. N. Charter. and (b) another purpose is the registration of treaties and the protection of the peoples of non-self governing territories by the Trusteeship system.

Thus, while the United Nations is, like its predecessor the League of Nations, an organisation of multifold purpose, the promotion of economic and social co operation has been given more explicit recognition than in the League Covenant.

Principles : The Principles on which the United Nations Organisation is based are, in essence, implicit in its purposes. Thus principles are noted below :

(1) The United Nations Organisation is based on the principles of sovereign equality of all its memberstates.

(2) All member-states, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, are to fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them under the U. N. Charter.

(3) The members of the U. N. O. must settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered.

(4) All member-states are to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any of state.

(5) All member-state are to give the United Nations Organisation every assistance in any action taken by it under the charter, and also to refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the U. N. O. is taking preventive or enforcement action.

(6) The United Nations Organisation is to ensure that the member states are to follow the principles of the charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(7) The United Nations Organisation must not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a member state.

Critically viewed, some of the principles are not without flaws. The principle of sovereign equality of all member states has been vitiated by the veto power of Five permanent member of the Security Council. Their voice, by virtue of veto, carries greater weight than other member state. Moreover, a vital departure from the principle of sovereign equality is where enforcement measures.

Lastly : The "domestic Jurisdiction" clause (Article, 2/7) is also subject to criticism. What is domestic jurisdiction or international affair which threatens world peace or human dignity should be decided by the International Court of Justice.

In spite of criticisms, the efforts of the U. N. O. is worth appreciating. In the social, economic and cultural spheres, the work of the U. N. O. is worth appleading. It has undoubtedly contributed in the last sixty years towards installation of the outbreak of a major war.

Some practical steps have been suggested for the realisation of the purposes and principles of the U. N. O. These are : (a) to practise tolerance, (b) to unite in maintaining international peace and security, (c) to ensure that armed forces must not be used save in common interest, and (d) to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of peoples.

Q. Discuss the composition and functions of the General Assembly of United Nations Organisation.

Ans. The General Assembly is the largest of all organs of the United Nations Organisation. It is called the town meeting of the world. The General Assembly is the only organ in which all member states sit for deliberation and discussion.

Composition : The General Assembly consists of all the member states of the U. N. O. Each member-state can send upto five representatives but it has only one vote in the General

Assembly. The General Assembly meets once a year in September, but special sessions may be held at the request of the Security Council or a majority of the members of the United Nations. The General Assembly elects one President and seven Vice-presidents for the session.

At each meeting, the General Assembly sets up seven main working committees, viz. (a) General or Steering, (b) Political and Security, (c) Economic and Financial, (d) Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural,

(e) Trusteeship, (f) Legal, and (g) Administrative and Budgetary.

Functions : The functions of the General Assembly are laid down in Articles 10—17 of the U. N. Charter, and they are enumerated below :

(1) The General Assembly may discuss any question or matter within the scope of the U. N. Charter relating to the powers and functions of any organ of the U. N.

(2) It can consider the General principles of co-operation for the maintenance of world peace and security including disarmament and regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Security Council or to the member-states.

(3) It may discuss any issue relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by the Security Council or by any member-state or a non-member state.

(4) The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger world peace and security.

(5) It can initiate studies and make recommendations for promoting international co-operation in the political, economic, social, cultural, and health fields; and also encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification.

(6) The General Assembly receives and considers annual and special reports from the Security Council which include an account of measures to be taken to maintain international

peace and security. It also receives and considers reports from the other organs of the U. N. O.

(7) The General Assembly discusses the report submitted by the Secretary-General on the Trusteeship Council and reviews the administrative system of territories under the Trusteeship Council.

(8) It considers and approves the budget of the U. N. O. submitted to it by the Secretary-General, appropriates expenditures on member-states, and considers the estimate of income and expenditure of the specialised agencies.

(9) The General Assembly, along with the Security Council, makes decisions to admit new members to the U. N. O. It may make recommendations to the Security Council for the expulsion of any member which has persistently violated the principles of the Charter. Again, the General Assembly may debar a member to vote if it is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the U. N. O.

(10) It has the right to propose amendment to the U. N. O. Charter to be adopted by its two-third members. Such amendments must be ratified by a similar vote of the Security Council including all permanent members.

(11) The General Assembly elects the ten (10) non-permanent members of the Security Council, all the fifty four (54) members of Economic and Social Council, and some members of the Trusteeship Council. It also elects the fifteen (15) member Judges of the International Court of Justice.

(12) The Secretary General of the U. N. O. is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. The Secretary General informs the General Assembly about the activities of his office.

(13) The General Assembly supervises the work of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. They are required to submit their annual reports to the General Assembly.

(14) The General Assembly adopts its own rules of procedure. The decisions of the General Assembly are framed as recommendations of the member-states of the U. N. O. It may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Voting Procedure : Each member-states of the General Assembly has one vote. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions can be taken by a two-third majority of the members present and voting. These questions include : recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the admission of new member-states to the U. N. O. and budgetary questions etc.

Thus the General Assembly being the biggest agency is an important organ of the U. N. O. All member-states of the world are represented in it on the basis of absolute equality. Having extensive powers, the General Assembly supervises the activities of all other organs. But it must be noted that the General Assembly does not have the powers of a national Parliament. It cannot make laws for the member-states of the world. It is only a deliberative body which can discuss any matter within the scope of the U. N. Charter. However, the decisions of the General Assembly create strong public opinion in the world in favour of or against a member or non-member-states.

The Uniting For Peace Resolution adopted in 1950 has strengthened the power of the General Assembly. It authorises the General Assembly to consider an urgent matter requiring sanction which may be prevented in the Security Council by a veto. In short, the General Assembly in its own manner has contributed towards the promotion of international peace and security, and also the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Q. Discuss the composition (organisation), Functions and voting procedure of the Security Council of the U. N. O.

Ans. The Security Council is the most powerful and effective organ of the U. N. O. It is the executive and administrative body and on it depends upon the success and failure of the United Nations.

Organisation : The Security Council is a small body made up of fifteen members of which five are permanent and the remaining ten are non-permanent and members of the U. N. O. The five permanent members are : America, England, France,

China and Russia. And the ten non permanent members are elected for two years, by the General Assembly; and they are eligible for immediate re-election. In the election of non-permanent members, due regard is being paid to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

Each member of the Security Council has one representative. The U. N. Charter provides for the continuous sessions of the Security Council. It adopts its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

Functions : The functions of the Security Council are analysed below :

(1) The primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security rests on the shoulders of the Security Council.

(2) If the Security Council is satisfied about the existence of actual aggression, it can take any one of the following steps : (a) it can call upon the parties concerned to settle their disputes peacefully through methods like arbitration, conciliation, mediation, or adjudication; (b) it can provide a solution to the dispute by proposing certain terms of settlement; (c) it can suggest a proper procedure for ending the dispute; (d) it can call upon the members-states to cut off-diplomatic relations, economic relations or communications with the state or states which flout the decisions of the U. N. O.

(3) The Security Council is also empowered to conduct an investigation into a situation which is likely to endanger international peace and security.

(4) The U. N. Charter lays down that in case of failure of pacific means arbitration, conciliation or adjudication etc. the Security Council may resort to the application of force by engaging armed forces against the aggressor. Under such circumstances, it is the duty of the member-states to contribute with men and material to assist the enforcement measures adopted by the Security Council. Here the Military Staff Committee assist and advise the Council on all important matters.

(5) Any member or non member state of the U. N. O. has the right to draw the attention of the Security Council to any threat of peace, breach of peace or an acts of aggressions. The State Concerned can be invited to participate without the right to vote in discussions regarding a dispute to which it is a party.

(6) The Security Council takes into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice.

(7) In matters of admission of new members and suspension of the members of the U. N. O. the recommendation of the Security Council is necessary. The security Council enquires about the necessary qualifications of the willing states for their admission and also about the cases of breach of the U. N. Charter by the states for their suspension.

(8) The Security Council prepares the panel of names of persons from amongst whom the General Assembly appoints the Security General of the U. N. O.

(9) The Security Council enforces the verdicts of the International Court of Justice. Moreover, it participates in the election of the Judges of the International Court of Justice along with the General Assembly.

(10) The Security Council bears the responsibility of the development of the states under the Trusteeship Council. It supervises the trust territories and take measures for their development.

(11) The Security Council shares with the General Assembly the power of regulation of armaments and possible disarmaments.

(12) Every member-states of the U. N. O. must agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. And lastly, the Security Council may be establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performances of its functions.

Voting Procedure : In the proceeding of the Security Council, each member-states has one vote only. But the permanent members have a dominant voice in important matters. They enjoy the power of veto which means the negative vote of any

of the permanent members. It may be noted that the decisions of the Security Council on all procedural matters (e.g. admission of new member-states and expulsion of member-states) must be affirmed by the votes of nine members. And on substantive matters (e.g. appointment of the Secretary-General, economic and military sanctions, revision of the U. N. Charter etc.), the affirmative votes of all permanent members are necessary. Thus the unanimity of the permanent members is necessary in substantive matters.

It is true that the Security Council has contributed towards the promotion of international peace and security. But the veto power violates the declared policy of equality of member states of the U. N. O. Again, it has weakened the authority of the Security Council. In case the permanent member-state of the Security Council is a party in any dispute, the impartial decisions cannot be taken, and it can paralyse the U. N. machinery. We hope that veto power will ensure the co-operation of Big five powers which can guarantee the successful fulfilment of the commitments undertaken by the U. N. O.

Q. Describe the composition and functions of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the U. N. O.

Ans. The Economic and Social Council is an important organ of the U. N. O. It is regarded as a co-ordinator of the activities of the several specialized agencies (I. M. F., W. H. O., F. A. O., UNESCO, etc.) of the U. N. O. Which are created to undertake economic and social welfare activities. It has been placed under the control of the General Assembly to which it must submit its report.

Composition : The Economic and Social Council consists of 54 members. They are elected by the General Assembly. The normal term of each member-state is three years, but one-third retiring every year. A retiring member-state is eligible for immediate re-election.

The Economic and Social Council adopts its own rule of procedure. It elects the President from among the member-states. It meets three times a year.

The Economic and Social Council carries on its work with the help of several commissions, standing and adhoc

committees. Of them the commissions are of two types : (a) Functional, and (b) Regional. Functional Commissions deal with human rights, social status of women, fiscal and population problems etc. On the other hand, Regional Commissions deal with particular areas, e.g., Economic Commission for Europe, Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, etc.

Functions : It the object of the Security Council is to free the world from "fear", the object of the Economic and Social Council is to free it from "want". Thus the main functions of the ECOSOC are as follows :

(a) The Economic and Social Council may initiate studies regarding economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters; and make recommendations to the General Assembly and also to the specialised Agencies. These recommendations may concern the promotion of human rights.

(b) Another main function of the ECOSOC is to assist the Security Council, when requested by the latter to do so in the direction of imposing economic sanctions on the aggressor state.

(c) It may investigate any issue within its jurisdiction and make recommendation, and reports to the General Assembly.

(d) It may call international conferences on any subject within its jurisdiction.

(e) It can provide technical aid and advice to any nation.

(f) The ECOSOC may assist the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Trusteeship Council in the matters which lie within its jurisdiction.

(g) It works to promote the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The functions of the Economic and Social Council are those of study, investigation and recommendation. Its function is to facilitate voluntary co-operation. The member-states of the U. N. O. have pledged themselves under the Charter to act according to its recommendations jointly or separately for the economic and social progress, higher standards of living and full employment, cultural and educational co-operation, and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

There is general agreement that many of the studies so far made under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council

have thrown much light on major economic and social problems. Its statistical and economic reporting has become indispensable. It has also taken considerable initiative in inaugurating conferences. There is no doubt that the Economic and Social Council will remain as the most active and useful organ of the United Nation.

Q. Describe the composition and functions (jurisdiction) of the International Court of Justice.

Ans. The International Court of Justice is the Principal Judicial Organ of the U. N. O. It functions in accordance with the annexed statute which is based upon the statute of the permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

Composition : All member-states of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice. It is composed of fifteen (15) Judges elected independently by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The term of the Judges is nine years but one-third retires after three years. No two Judges can belong to the same state. The International Court of Justice elects its President from among the Judges for a period of three years. Nine Judges constitute the quorum. The International Court of Justice is continuously in session. And the decisions are made by a majority vote.

Functions or jurisdictions : The functions of the International Court of Justice are as follows : (1) The jurisdictions of the International Court of extends to those states which agree to submit to its decisions. (2) The countries which agree to submit to its decisions. (3) The countries which are not parties to the statute of the World Court can also have recourse of the Court provided that they accept the conditions laid the Security Council for the disputes being referred to the Court. (4) Only states and not individuals may be parties in cases before the International Court of Justice. The jurisdiction of the World Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it all matters specially provided for the U. N. Charter. (5) The International Court has the power consider the disputes referred to it by the parties in one of three ways— (i) the

parties may agree to submit their dispute to the Court; (ii) if both parties have accepted the compulsory Jurisdiction of the Court; and (iii) if the parties are signatories to a treaty which calls for reference to the International Court due to differences concerning the application of the treaty. (6) The International Court of Justice, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are referred to it, will apply international conventions, International customs as evidence of a general practice accepted as law, the general principles of law recognised by civilised countries, judicial decisions and teachings of the most highly qualified judicial authorities in the world. (7) Article 96 of the U. N. Charter states that the General Assembly of the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question. Other organs of the U. N. O. and its specialised agencies can also make such requests. The advisory opinion of the World Court is not binding (8) The International Court of Justice in spite of its acknowledged merits is less impressive than its predecessor of the League of Nations. Though optional clause makes the decision of the present International Court binding in certain matters for the states which sign it, yet most countries have accepted it with certain reservations which have weakened the Court.

The International Court of Justice does not have the power to impose its verdict on disputing parties in the same way in which the judiciary in a state can on the parties which appear before it, as all member-states of the U. N. O. are sovereign, and the U. N. O. the parent body itself has no sovereignty (e.g., in recent times, the U. S. aid to the rebels of Nicaragua flouts the verdict of the International Court.)

Q. Write an analytical note on the International Trusteeship system with reference to the composition and functions of the Trusteeship Council.

Ans. Under the United Nations Charter, the Trusteeship system is a direct heritage of the Mandatory system of the League of Nations. The United Nations establishes under its authority the International trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be

placed there under by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are called the trust territories. The International Trusteeship System includes— (a) territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. The terms of the trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, are to be agreed upon by the states directly concerned. The basic aims and objectives of the trusteeship system are— (a) to further international peace, and security, (b) to promote to social, economic, political and cultural conditions of the inhabitants of the trust territories, (c) to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms not based on race, religion, language or sex etc.; and (d) to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all members of the U. N. O.

We are to note that the trust territories are divided into strategic and non-strategic areas. The strategic areas are under the control of the Security Council and the non-strategic areas are under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. In the administrations of such territories, a state is given authority and it is called trustee, and territory given to the administering state is called trust territory.

Trusteeship Council :

Composition : The Trusteeship Council consists of—(a) the permanent members of the Security Council, (b) the member-states which administer trust territories, and (c) other states elected by the General Assembly for three year terms.

The Trusteeship Council adopts its own rule of procedure including the method of election of its President. The Trusteeship Council meets twice a year. Each member has only one vote, and decisions are taken by simple majority.

Functions : The Trusteeship Council carries out the following functions—(a) consider reports submitted by the administering authority; (b) accept petition and examine them in consultation with the administering authority; (c) provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the

administering authority; (d) take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements; (e) formulate a questionnaire on the political, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory and make an annual report to the General Assembly; (f) avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialised agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned; (g) assist the General Assembly in carrying out the functions; and (h) deal with the administration and supervision of territories placed under it by trusteeship agreements.

Q. Discuss the peace-keeping role of the United Nations Organisation.

Ans. In the Charter of the United Nations Organisation, the concept of peace-keeping is not specifically described. But it has evolved over the years as an internationally acceptable way of controlling disputes. Peace-keeping is a technique pioneered by the United Nations which is meant to be an instrument of international peace rather than a forum of world conflict. It implies that the United Nations can deploy multinational forces under its command to resolve international conflicts between the hostile states or the regional crisis arising between the antagonistic forces with a single state. Peace-keeping is the major way in which the United Nations helps to maintain world peace and security. But the effectiveness of peace-keeping depends upon a number of factors—(a) the physical presence of military personnel, (b) the moral authority of the United Nations Organisation, and (c) the pressure of world public opinion. It is true that the respect for the United Nations peace-keeping activities is growing, as the tensions of the Cold War recede, the world community is turning increasingly to the United Nations peace-keepers to resolve international and regional crisis. In this connection, we are to note that in case of peace-keeping operations, some major conditions are required to be met—(i) consent of the country or countries involved in dispute, (ii) support from the international community, (iii) member states' assistance to volunteer personnel, and (iv) voluntary or obligatory contributions to the

U. N. Fund to meet the expenses of the peace-keeping forces. The United Nations peace-keepers can be sent as unarmed or lightly armed force to observe the situation and report to the Secretary General. And the Secretary General reports to the Security Council on how the operation can be launched and executed. But there should not be any negative vote (veto) from any of the permanent members of the Security Council. The United Nations Organisation has been charged with vast responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. And the chief responsibility lies with the Security Council. But the General Assembly plays an increasingly significant role in this field [e.g. The Uniting for Peace Resolution (1950)]. According to Article 39 of the U. N. Charter, the Security Council is empowered to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of peace or act of aggression. The Security Council looks first for the peaceful settlement of the dispute. The United Nations Charter lays down that in case of failure of pacific means arbitration, mediation, conciliation, adjudication etc. the Security Council may resort to the application of force by engaging armed forces against the aggressor. Under such circumstances, it is the duty of the member states to contribute with men and material to assist the enforcement measures adopted by the Security Council. Here the Military Staff Committee assists and advises the Security Council on all important matters. Again, the Security Council can call upon the member states to cut off diplomatic relations, economic sanctions or communications with the state or states which flout the decision of the U. N. Charter. The United Nations has contributed directly or indirectly to the settlement of international disputes which might otherwise have become serious threats to world peace. It is aptly remarked 'In a divided world permanently threatened by the possibility of a nuclear holocaust, the U. N. peace-keeping operations can limit and localise the scope of international conflicts'. Further, the presence of the United Nations peace-keepers encourages the states to the disputes to settle controversies through negotiations rather than violence. *Answered (Answering in Hindi) by A. E.*

The role of the United Nations Organisation in maintaining world peace may not appear so important today as it was originally intended to be. There is no evidence to show that the United Nations has prevented any war. There is, however, unmistakable evidence to show that it has materially contributed to the shortening of some wars—in Indonesia and Palestine (1949), in Korea (1950), in Egypt (1956), in Congo (1960), in Cyprus (1960), in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (1965 and 1971), in Arab-Israel (1973), in Kuwait (1990), in Namibia (1990), in Cambodia (1992), in Iraq (2004) etc. The United Nations had been able to achieve these results because the great powers had a common interest in shortening these wars; or none of them had an interest in prolonging them. But where the Big powers of the Security Council are not in accord with each other, the United Nations machinery has a lamentable performance. There is the attempt of the western powers, particularly the United States of America, to use the United Nations in pursuit of their national aims and imperialist designs (e.g., the recent invasion of Iraq by the United States of America and its allies).

The United Nations Organisation eschews the use of force under all circumstances except in pursuance of the purposes of the Charter. The peaceful settlement of international disputes and the establishment of collective security are taken by the United Nations Charter as the basis for world peace and security. The role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace is commendable though it has not succeeded in settling a number of international disputes. Bentwich and Martin have remarked that the United Nations which is meant for an instrument of world peace has proved to be a forum of world conflict. Its peace-keeping role has certainly some limitations. But it has done more than survive; it has proved itself to be an indispensable international institution.

We are to note that the United Nations Organisation has to function against a background of clashes between the most diverse political and social forces and unceasing struggle between the two opposed socio-political system (e.g., the U. S. A. and China at present), between the forces of national

liberation and those of colonialism and neo-colonialism. This inevitably leaves its mark on the whole U. N. Organisation. The usefulness of the United Nations as an agency of peace-keeping is dependent upon its capacity to promote agreement, rather than to override disagreement, as to the nature of action which should undertake. And lastly, the United Nations Organisation can become an instrument of genuine peace if the great powers of the Security Council act in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

Q. Discuss the Composition and Functions of the U. N. Secretariat.

Ans. The Secretariat is one of the principal organs of the United Nations. The Secretariat came into being on February 1, 1946, when the First Secretary General—Mr. Trygve Lie of the U. N. was appointed by the General Assembly. Following the League of Nations precedent, the U. N. Charter also incorporates provisions for the establishment of an international secretariat. But the kind of set-up which the U. N. Secretariat eventually grew up has been truly enormous with its range of activities knowing no bounds.

Composition : According to Article 97 of the U. N. Charter, the U. N. Secretariat comprises a Secretary General and such staff as the Organisation may require. The Secretary-General is the head of the Secretariat. He is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. If the Secretary-General is to perform his duties in the spirit of the Charter, he must be supported by a staff which is competent and independent of the political influence of member states. The appointment of staff members is vested in the Secretary General. This is, however, subject to all the provisions of Staff Regulations which are adopted by the General Assembly and also are promulgated by the Security Council to implement those regulations.

The guiding principles of recruitment are two—personal qualifications and a balanced geographical representation. However, in practice the desirable range of posts for different countries is roughly proportionate to their contributions to the annual budget of the U. N. O. Besides, appropriate staffs are

permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the trusteeship Council, and as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs form a part of the Secretariat.

The U.N. Secretariat has eight (8) departments—

- (i) Economic Affairs,
- (ii) Social Affairs,
- (iii) Security Council Affairs,
- (iv) Legal Affairs,
- (v) Public Informations.
- (vi) Administrative and Financial Services.
- (vii) Trusteeship and Information from Non-self governing Territories, and
- (viii) Conference and General Services.

The U. N. Charter does not clearly mention the Organisation of the Secretariat, the number of its higher officials and their role and functions. All these are governed under regulations established by the General Assembly and the Security Council. However, in the exercise of his functions, the Secretary-General is assisted by eight Under Secretaries General and six Assistant Secretaries-General of his Secretariat. The Secretary-General supervises and controls the functions of staffs. The U. N. Charter lays down that—in the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff must not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organisation. Again, the member-states of the U. N. undertake to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities. The staffs of the Secretariat should refrain from any action which reflect on their position as international officials, responsible only to the United Nations Organisation. Lastly, a disciplinary action may be taken by the Secretary-General against a staff member for breach of staff Rules and Regulations.

Functions : The major tasks of the U. N. Secretariat are analysed below :

(1) The Secretariat produces reports and other documents containing information, research findings, policy suggestions

etc. that facilitate the deliberations and decision making by the legislative organs of the U. N. O., namely, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council etc. including their subsidiary bodies.

(2) The staffs of the Secretariat provide editorial, translation and documents reproduction services in the different working languages.

(3) It organises conferences, expert group meetings, and seminars on topics of concern to the international community, as authorised by the General Assembly or the Trusteeship Council.

(4) The Secretariat provides technical assistance, experts, resources and materials; and also offers training opportunities to officials of the developing countries.

(5) It undertakes missions to member or and non-member states as authorised by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U. N. O.

(6) The U. N. officials provide secretariat services to the legislative organs like the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council, e.g. providing secretaries for committees and commissions, assisting in planning the work of the sessions, and in drafting reports, and conducting the proceedings etc.

(7) The U. N. Secretariat provides meeting services to the legislative organs—the General Assembly and the Security Council, e.g., interpretation, Verbatim reporting, and precis-writing services etc.

(8) The Secretariat staffs conduct studies and provide information that answer to the priority needs of the governments of the developing countries in meeting challenges in economic, social, political and cultural fields.

(9) It produces statistical publications, information bulletins and analytical work issued by the U. N. O.

(10) The Secretariat arranges for dissemination to the public of information of the U. N. activities and decisions. Again, it provides the programmed planning for the effective, economic, and efficient performance of the services and functions of the organ—the Secretariat—within the legal framework of rules

and policies adopted by the General Assembly. Lastly, the Secretariat has an important role to play in the preparation of the U. N. Budget which is placed before the General Assembly by the Secretary-General.

We are to note that the nature of the functions of the U. N. Secretariat took years to be fully comprehensive. But it is equally true that the Secretariat has gradually transformed the United Nations from a series of periodic meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council into a permanent and coalescent Organisation. In short, the Secretariat of the United Nations is not merely an international service Organisation, secondary in role. Rather, it has to act as the executive organ of the U. N. O.

Q. How is the Secretary-General of the U. N. O. appointed? Discuss his functions and role.

Or, Examine, with suitable illustrations, the role of the U. N. Secretary-General.

Ans. According to the U. N. Charter, the Secretary-General is the head of the Secretariat, one of the principal organs of the United Nations. He is at one and the same time, both the chief administrator and chief executive.

Appointment : The U. N. Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. He can be appointed only if the Security Council can muster nine (out of total fifteen members) assenting votes including those of the five permanent members. The General Assembly requires only a simple majority to agree to his nomination.

The term of office of the Secretary-General is nowhere specified in the U. N. Charter, but in February, 1946, the General Assembly fixed a five (5) year term which can be renewed or extended. Among the Secretary-Generals—Dag Hammarskjöld, U. Thant, Kofi Annan were appointed for two terms (i.e. $5+5 = 10$ years).

Functions and Role : The Secretary-General of the U. N. O. has been endowed with significantly enormous functions and responsibilities which his predecessor (Secretary-General of the League of Nations) should envy. In fact, the League covenant

and Article 10 regarding the Secretary-General's duties other than "he shall act in such capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and the Council" compared to his predecessor. The U. N. Secretary-General has been given far wider powers and field of operation by the delegates to the U. N. Conference. The functions of the U. N. Secretary-General can be listed in six heads :

- General administrative and executive functions.
- technical functions
- financial functions,
- organisation and administration of the Secretariat,
- political functions, and
- representational functions.

For convenience of analysis, we may outline these functions of the Secretary-General under two major heads :

- Executive which relates to those functions that are pre-eminently political in character; and
- administrative which really includes a variety of powers and functions of administrative, financial and technical nature.

(1) Executive Role : Under the U. N. Charter, the Secretary-General is endowed with a specially political role. Article 99 lays down that the Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. Thus, matters of the highest importance for the United Nations, the Secretary-General is given a status equivalent to that of a member-state or to that of the U. N. General Assembly or the Security Council. He enjoys a special right which goes beyond any power previously accorded to the head of an international organisation (e.g. Secretary-General of the League of Nations). In this respect, the Secretary-General stands for the U. N. as a whole. In the eyes of the world, he must embody the principles and ideals of the U. N. Charter. The Secretary-General is, in a sense, to act as the eyes and ears of the United Nations and its members. If a threatening situation arises and no member-state brings the matter to the attention of the Security Council, the Secretary-General can insist that the Security Council should consider the matter. Although the power is limited to

the Security Council, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly give the Secretary-General the right to propose items for the agenda or to make either oral or written statements to the General Assembly concerning any question which leads to violence or war.

Many U.N. observers feel that Article 99 has changed the Secretary-General's role from a purely administrative one to a distinctively political one. To day, the Secretary-General has greatly enlarged his powers in the field of investigation and observation of international conflicts. Together with the Secretariat, he provides his good offices and formal mediation that may be needed in resolving international disputes. Under the powers of investigation and observation, the Secretary-General can pinpoint the areas of conflict on the world scene and suggest appropriate actions after the causes of conflict have been sorted out by him or his staff on behalf of the U. N. O. As an investigator and observer, the Secretary-General has the advantage of having personnel all over the world on whose experience and expertise he can rely. Besides, the avowed neutrality of the Secretary-General can make him acceptable to powers on both sides of the conflict. In all major world disputes. Since, 1945, successive Secretary-Generals have played an important mediatory and negotiatory role in trying to solve these crisis (e.g., Trygve Lie in Korea crisis; Hammarskjöld in Congo issue; U. Thant in Vietnam issue; De Cuellar in Gulf crisis; and Kofi Annan in Afghan War etc.). The Secretary-General is now both a diplomat and a moving ambassador. He often acts as a main channel of communication from the member-states to the world to-day.

(2) Administrative Role : According to the Charter of the United Nations, the Secretary-General is the Chief Administrative Officer. He is to ensure the efficient working of the meetings of the U. N. Organs, namely, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council etc. and Subsidiary bodies, and also of such conferences as may be convened under the U. N. auspices. Another primary function of the Secretary-General is to secure adequate co-ordination and integration of the work programmes of the various branches

of the Secretariat and of the Specialised Agencies (e.g., the WHO, the ILO etc.) and other inter-governmental organisations. Moreover, his duties as administrative officer in the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council lend his office scientific and technical overtones.

As the Chief Administrator, the Secretary-General has to define the institutional structure of the Secretariat and appoint and supervise the work of its employees. He also appoints the staff assigned to the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council and to other Organs, whenever necessary. The Secretary-General has to recruit the staff of the Secretariat who must meet the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. This task is a difficult and challenging one, since the Secretariat has a multi lingual, multi ethnic, and multi-national composition.

In financial matters, the Secretary-General assumes responsibility for the preparation of the annual budget of the United Nations. He also assumes custody of all U. N. funds and responsibility for their expenditure. Again, there are many multilateral treaties which entrust the Secretary-General with depository functions.

The Secretary-General presents the Annual Report to the General Assembly on the work of the United Nations Organisation. The report gives him an opportunity to express his own views on a variety of subjects on the U. N. agenda, and also use his authority to make constructive proposals to the Organisation for its future work.

Lastly, the Secretary-General represents the United Nations on all ceremonial occasions and acts as its chief spokesman. In this capacity, he travels all over the world, acting as the main ambassador of the U. N. O. explaining and defending the U. N. actions.

The powers and functions of the Secretary-General clearly demonstrate that he is expected to be a World statesman playing an active and dominant role in international politics. Two factors have contributed to the strengthening of the office of the Secretary-General.

Firstly, the U. N. Charter guarantees an independent status for the Secretary-General. For example he cannot delegate his political responsibilities. And it is in this area that the Secretary-General is called upon to take initiatives and exercise influence which distinguishes his office under the U. N. Charter from his counterpart under the League covenant. Second, another factor is the liberal interpretation of powers assigned to him by the U. N. Charter. For example, the Secretary-General's power has been increasing in the field of investigation and observation of international conflicts. By acting as a mediator and informal adviser of many governments, the Secretary-General can play an important political role. However, the Secretary-General's role is subject to certain practical limitations. In the United Nations, the real powers of decision rest with the governments of Super-powers. Consequently, there are limits to what an international bureaucrat like the Secretary-General can do in matters of peace, security, and general welfare without the support of these government.

To conclude, the political diplomatic role of the Secretary-General will continue to be important in future. The Secretary-General is the only leading personality to represent all the interests and activities of the United Nations before the world. Member representative s and governments of the U. N. O. find it useful and convenient to rely on the Secretary-General for counsel and guidance and their policies and actions are influenced thereby. In the U. N. O. the Secretary-General's role has been increasing and it depends largely on his own personality as well as on the political support he gets from different groups in the Organisation.

Q. Discuss the collective security under the U.N. charter.

Ans. Collective security is a collective measure for security. The term "security" represents the goal, while the term "collective" indicates the nature of the means employed. According to Morgenthau—"one for all and all for one is the watch ward of collective security. In short, collective security is basically a mutual insurance plan."

Collective security is supposed to be the basis of the United Nations Organisation. It is a device by which the security of all

nations is assumed. The Preamble of the United Nations Charter emphasises on the maintenance of international peace and security. This central concern for peace led to the fresh formulation of the collective security system.

The United Nations charter contains elaborate provisions regarding collective security.

The U.N.O. calls for effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace. These particular words establish the principle of collective security. Further, the U.N.O. incorporates the same principle by the universal pledge of members to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

The Security Council has been authorised to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of peace, and act of aggression. It may make recommendations or decide what measures should be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security, if both peaceful settlement among the parties, and recommendations of the Security Council fail in this objective. For this reason it is often called the enforcement arm of the United Nations. The first step is the application of measures not involving the use of force, e.g., complete or partial interruption of economic relation and of rail, sea, postal, radio and other means of communication and severance of diplomatic relations. If this is inadequate, the Security Council is authorised to take such military action as may be necessary. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operation by air, sea or land forces of members of the U.N.O. Such decisions made by the Security Council are binding upon the members of the United Nations. Again, all members of the U.N.O., in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage necessary for maintaining international peace and security. When the Security Council has decided to use force, it may invite a member to participate in the decisions of the Council concerning the employment of contingents of the

member's armed forces. Further, the members of the U.N.O. are obliged to provide to the United Nations contingents of national airforce for combined international enforcement action. A Military Staff Committee has been provided to devise and assist the Security Council on all matters regarding military requirements for maintenance of international peace and security. The implementation of Security Council's decisions may be entrusted by the Council to all the members of the U.N.O. or some of them. However, the members are expected to afford mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided by the Security Council.

But probably the most important provision of the U.N. Charter regarding collective security is its Article 51 which recognises the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence in the event of an armed attack against a member provides for the exercise of the right only until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Action by members under Article 51 is to be reported to the Security Council and in no way affects the authority and responsibility of the latter. Regional arrangements or agencies may be utilised for enforcement action.

It has been criticised that collective security is not only unworkable but also an unwise and dangerous principle, mainly because under it no war could be localised and that every war would become a World War. Again, the neutrals have no place under the collective security. Lastly, the cold war between East and West has made the collective security less effective and unworkable.

Q. Write an analytical note of Regionalism in International Politics.

Ans. Regionalism means differently to different people. But the essential thing that is agreed by all about regionalism is that it is an arrangement by which the sovereign states might try to promote the interests of their citizens in collaboration with other states without abdicating national sovereignty. We may mention five criteria that determine regionalism—(a) social and cultural homogeneity, (b) shared political attitudes and

behaviour, (c) political interdependence in the form of shared institutional membership, (d) economic interdependence, and (e) geographical proximity. But we find that these criteria are not found in areas which are normally called as regions. Region in the most refers to a continuous geographic area. In this way we find that region and regionalism may not necessarily mean the same thing.

Generally, the element of communality, a grand characteristic of regionalism, may not be found to exist in geographically contiguous areas. Very surprisingly, it may exist in areas which are far away from each other. To give an example, there is greater communality between the U.K., Australia and Newzealand (which are situated far away) than between Great Britain and West Europe (in the same region). This proves that a feeling of regionalism may exist in areas which are geographically far away from each other. In fact, political rather than geographical ties have determined most regional groupings.

Regionalism is indeed an effective way of dealing with problems of economic development, of interstate conflict, and of super power hegemony. somewhat similar feeling gave birth to international organisations such as the League of Nations and the United Nations. Both these Organisations made an attempt to reconcile state sovereignty with the maintenance of international peace and security, and to achieve collective security and mutual welfare through political and non-political co-operation among various states. In this way, both regionalism and international organisations such as the U.N.O. advocate eradication of conflicts arising out of state sovereignty and boundary, crossing globalism. The only difference between regionalism and world organisation is that the latter seeks to be universal in scope while the former concerns itself with the problems of geographical contiguities or of a particularistic nature.

Regional institution may function as subordinate pieces of international machinery, sharing the load, diverting some of the tensions of international relations from central world organisation and serving as agents of the larger community in handling problems which pertain primarily to their own regional

issues or disputes shall not be raised or discussed in the SAARC fora. In spite of this, there have been attempts to bring issues of conflict or political differences between two or more countries at the SAARC meetings. In addition to conflicting security perceptions, the differences on political issues are causing a serious problem in the working of the Organisation. During more than two decades of its existence, the SAARC has given opportunities to the regional leaders to meet at regular intervals and has brought in some co-operation in developmental activities. Again, we may point out that the SAARC has focussed primarily on technical co-operation and eleven technical committees have been set up covering agriculture, communications, education, environment, rural development, and women's development etc. Beginning in about 1995, the second stage of co-operation within the SAARC has been taken on social issues such as eradication of poverty, promotion of literacy, and development of women and children. Further, the particular focus has been placed on the persistent problem of poverty in the region and the SAARC states have committed themselves to the eradication of poverty by 2015. Besides, the SAARC Food Security Reserve provides for a reserve of foodgrains for meeting emergencies in member-countries. The SAARC has also taken up the issue of environment. It has adopted an environment action plan focussing on environmental impact, evaluation of exchange of information and development of human resources through training. The SAARC has put in place the institutional arrangements for co-operation in combating terrorism and trafficking in narcotics. The member states are committed to extradite or prosecute alleged terrorists, thus preventing them from enjoying safe heavens. Most important issue in the SAARC Summit is of co-operation in trade and care areas of economy. In this context, the operationalisation of the SAPTA and the SAFTA to eradicate poverty have evoked much interest.

It is clear that while regional co-operation through the regional organisation has been coming up in a significant way in the various parts of the world, in the South Asia it has begun quite late. The goals of the SAARC have been kept

development oriented. Conscious efforts have been made to entertain modest aims excluding more or less contentions.

It has been remarked that for SAARC to succeed, its leaders must have a vision and a blue print for its future course of action.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Q. Discuss the impact of environmental issues on international politics.

Ans. The need for the protection of human environment can be legitimately described as the international objective of primary importance. The protection of environment has to-day gained recognition as the common concern of all the civilised states. Consequently, the protection of environment through global and collective efforts constitutes one of the major areas of activity in contemporary times.

The deterioration of environment due to unprincipled use of natural resources, industrialisation, urbanisation etc. and because of the existence of problems like poverty, poor housing, bad public health, and inadequate employment which characterise life in almost of all the developing countries have together compelled the human kind to devise ways and means not only for checking the deteriorating environment but also for recouping the environment through conscious efforts and planning. All this has given rise to the need for the regulation of behaviour of nations at international level, both for the prevention of every future deterioration of environment as well as for the adoption of eco-friendly technologies.

The concept of protection of the environment involves the attempt to prevent pollution, particularly global pollution, or environmental degradation. One of the accepted rules of international law has been that no state should act in a manner or permit the use of its territory in a way which can be injurious to other states. This rule is taken to mean in contemporary times as the rule which compels every nation not to act in a way as can cause environmental pollution or degradation. Hence, it is well within the scope of international law to enact rules

for the protection of environment by all the states individually as well as collectively.

It may be said that global warming, if unchecked, is likely to emerge as a major political adversary causing unpredictable disruptions amongst nation-states, regionally and globally exacerbating the risk of war. Existence of warm stable climate is also an essential adding to the nation's strength and power. Again, the regional problems could crop up amongst proximate states if there is loss of low-lying territory, inundation of vast lands by seas resulting in an unprecedented rise of ecological refugees. Competition over territory and natural resources by them could increase regional tensions.

The world political balance would destabilise unpredictably if the major powers of the world started taking sides in such showdowns generated by green-house driven effects. Indeed there is already evidence that even if the atmospheric composition stabilised as to-day, the atmosphere was already committed to an additional warming over the next fifty years. However, the early application of existing and emerging technologies can reduce the commitment to global warming, if not eliminate it in the first quarter of the 21st century. The Montreal Protocol was a step in this direction.

It may be said that environmental protection and upgradation problems differ in developed and developing countries. Based on technical knowledge, infrastructural facilities, priority objectives and needs, different approaches by think tanks of two blocks can well be anticipated. Admittedly, environmental degradation is a consequence of development and industrialisation. Experiences of the developed nations stand testimony to the ruthless exploitation of environment because issues of environmentality were then lesser known. Again, the external factors have played a key role in the economic stagnation of the south. The Third World countries are at the threshold of development and cannot do away with industrial growth. The debt traps, adverse terms of trade and wealth accumulation in the North has also been a factor in environmental and social destruction in the south. In order to deal with the global ecological crisis and expand a sustainable

consumption pattern of structural adjustment has to take place in the industrialised world. Governments in many underdeveloped and developing nations are becoming increasingly aware of the ecological dangers being posed domestically and internationally and have become more aggressive in seeking international solutions of global degradation.

We face a common environmental crisis. This was evident at the Earth Summit of 2005 which marked the beginning of a new era of co-operation between the rich and the poor, yet alternatives to marginalise or solve the crisis seemed different. The North-South divide is apparent. The major issues facing the two blocks relate to : (a) world's trading system, (b) globalisation of natural resources, (c) protection of intellectual property rights, and (d) dumping of outdated technologies. The developing countries are on the threshold of development and cannot do away with industrial growth. It, therefore, becomes the task of the Northern governments to support the south in building up an environmentally friendly structure based on Neo-growth. It may be pointed out that environmental endowments and assets are gifts of nature. They do not follow the dictates of the sovereignty of nations, groupism of regions or technological advance of countries. For sustained continuance of technoindustrial cycle, the North is to a great extent dependent on the treasures and assets of the Third World. As the Third World is striving to come out of its problem of poverty and population and enter into the techno-advanced industrial world the change requires a two-way, process to barter and exchange their environmental assets in return for technological advance and scientific attainments.

The changed international balance of power and growing indebtedness reduces flexibility in negotiations and the possible adverse effects of global climatic change on developed countries has enhanced the leverage of the Third World countries. The Third World state on the political agenda in the North-South dialogue is to us her in an era of sustainable economic prosperity in the developing south. Environment is a major diplomatic tool in their hands to strike a bargain and voice democratic

rights so as to strike an equal place on the futuristic global economic and environmental scenario for new growth and sustainable development. The end of cold war and disintegration of the Soviet Union has brought the world to a new world order still in a state of flux with tinges of multipolarism and unipolarism moving towards globalisation and interdependence.

The world is undergoing a revolutionary transformation and traditional concepts of sovereignty, security, economic prosperity are undergoing a sea change. There is an increased inter-linkage between political, economic, technological, environmental, social and strategic issues in isolation. We may say that humanity can be threatened as much by environmental degradation resource concerns, economic divisions and social problems, as by ultra-militarism or religious fundamentalism. We are at the threshold of sovereignty deferred, interdependence preferred in the global commons. A communality of interests, perceptions, and attitudes needs to be consolidated to resolve such compelling issues and challenges.

Q. Discuss the Role of Feminism in international relations.

Ans. Feminism in international relations is a broad term given to works of those scholars who have sought to bring gender concerns into the academic study of international politics.

In terms of *international relations* (IR) theory it is important to understand that feminism is derived from the school of thought known as reflectionism. It is sought to chart the many different roles that women play in international politics as plantation sector workers, diplomatic wives, sex workers on military bases etc. The important point of this work was to emphasize how, when looking at international politics from the perspective of women, one is forced to reconsider his or her personal assumptions regarding what international politics is 'all about'.

However, it would be a mistake to think that feminist IR was solely a matter of identifying how many groups of women are positioned in the international political system. From its inception, feminist IR has always shown a strong concern with

thinking about men and, in particular, masculinities. Indeed, many IR feminists argue that the discipline is inherently masculine in nature.

Feminist IR emerged largely from the late 1980s onwards. The end of the Cold War and the re-evaluation of traditional IR theory during the 1990s opened up a space for gendering international Relations. Because feminist IR is linked broadly to the critical project in IR, by and large most feminist scholarship has sought to problematise the politics of knowledge construction within the discipline. However, the growing influence of feminist and women-centric approaches within the international policy communities (for example at the *World Bank* and the *United Nations*) is more reflective of the liberal feminist emphasis on equality of opportunity for women.

From a gender point of view, men are the chief perpetrators and negotiators of war and peace in contemporary conflicts, but women are among those who suffer most and are ill represented at peace mediation and settlement. In terms of security, there are three key avenues along which the role of women is essential: security sector reform, peacebuilding and re-integration and transitional justice. Looking at these from the perspective of gender critique offers some interesting solutions, such as ensuring the security of girls and women, and introducing gender-based checks on police and military power.

In respect to conflicts, women are among the most vulnerable groups. Kidnappings, sexual crimes, and violent attacks are the most common and underreported offences against women in a conflict setting, and a look at the statistics can substantiate that picture; for instance, less than 3% of signatories on peace treaties are women.

Security sector reform (SSR) involves demilitarization, the strengthening of rule of law and establishing civilian control over security capacities. SSR is often a long process, and a sustained effort to incorporate gender perspectives coherently throughout all aspects of security reforms is needed. Feminism offers a gender-based viewpoint on SSR that codifies tolerance, openness in crime investigations, and, by extension, a civil debate on the use of force in the first place.

Peacebuilding and re-integration refers to two key aspects: the demobilization and re-integration of female combatants. The fundamental point here is that women in conflict act not only as soldiers, but they also have a wide variety of support roles—some willingly participate, but most are forced when livelihoods are destroyed by war and conflict. In essence, women's voices add another wrinkle and viewpoint to any peacebuilding initiative and helps make any resolution less male focused.

Transitional justice is a fairly new policy area and it focuses on bridging enemies of a conflict in order to make a society move forward. Measures include truth reconciliation commissions, criminal trials, and the wider involvement of the international community in finding a new balance of peace in a post-conflict society. Feminism's virtue in this respect is that it can encourage unconditional conversation between all stakeholders. For UN Women, the priorities focus on ensuring women access to these processes so they are not left outside of the new status quo and received the aforementioned chances at a secure, dignified life.

With all this in mind, it is clear that women are essential to the security of any society. Feminist perspectives can bring better ways of thinking, acting and policy-making. UN Women effectively centralizes these efforts, but more still needs to be done. As such, spreading the word is the first step to a better world.

Q. How would you define globalisation? Discuss its importance in International Relations.

Ans. The end of cold war politics following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, restructuring of Eastern European countries and weakening of communism as an ideological force in international politics have paved a way for the emergence of a new world order characterised by globalisation. The process of globalisation began from 1970's due to various developments in the field of science and technology. Since 1990's the term globalisation has gained wide currency.

Globalisation has been defined as the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way

that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. In general, we can say that globalisation refers to a process by which the planet Earth is considered to be the one single unit of global village where social and economic interactions among the people are based on interdependence. Globalisation is manifest in the rapid flow of information, capital and goods. Under globalisation, culture and societies that were hitherto distinct have come to face with each other. The world has become an inter-connected one. To be stated precisely, globalisation means freedom of trade and investment, creation of free trade areas, elimination of government control on allocation of resources in the domestic economy, progressive removal and restrictions on external trade and payments, expansion of foreign investments, loans and aid, and rapid technological progress. It also advocates a balanced budget, social security and welfare, and a diminished role for the state in economic management. In short, globalisation means the integration of world economy so that there could be a free flow of trade and capital and a great movement of persons of various nationalities across the borders. This was made possible by new advances in the field of communications and the development of high technology. Its chief features are mass production and mass consumption. Nearly 2 trillion dollars are exchanged in the world's currency market every day and more than 40 percent of goods and services produced in the whole world are now in trade.

The emergence of globalisation is a consequence of deliberate efforts of western liberal capital countries to bring the whole world under one market oriented economic order. Observers point out that the big multinational corporations or companies have been operating in all parts of the world for more than two decades. The production and distribution of goods took place globally through these corporations or companies (MNC). The net value of their sales in 2000-2002 amounted to more than 2 trillion dollars. The era of globalisation which gained impetus in 1990's has had the following effects—(a) trade is growing, (b) tariff, i.e., import-export duties are being lowered, (c) communication costs are going down, (d) foreign direct

Peacebuilding and re-integration refers to two key aspects: the demobilization and re-integration of female combatants. The fundamental point here is that women in conflict act not only as soldiers, but they also have a wide variety of support roles—some willingly participate, but most are forced when livelihoods are destroyed by war and conflict. In essence, women's voices add another wrinkle and viewpoint to any peacebuilding initiative and helps make any resolution less male focused.

Transitional justice is a fairly new policy area and it focuses on bridging enemies of a conflict in order to make a society move forward. Measures include truth reconciliation commissions, criminal trials, and the wider involvement of the international community in finding a new balance of peace in a post-conflict society. Feminism's virtue in this respect is that it can encourage unconditional conversation between all stakeholders. For UN Women, the priorities focus on ensuring women access to these processes so they are not left outside of the new status quo and received the aforementioned chances at a secure, dignified life.

With all this in mind, it is clear that women are essential to the security of any society. Feminist perspectives can bring better ways of thinking, acting and policy-making. UN Women effectively centralizes these efforts, but more still needs to be done. As such, spreading the word is the first step to a better world.

Q. How would you define globalisation? Discuss its importance in International Relations.

Ans. The end of cold war politics following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, restructuring of Eastern European countries and weakening of communism as an ideological force in international politics have paved a way for the emergence of a new world order characterised by globalisation. The process of globalisation began from 1970's due to various developments in the field of science and technology. Since 1990's the term globalisation has gained wide currency.

Globalisation has been defined as the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way

that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. In general, we can say that globalisation refers to a process by which the planet Earth is considered to be the one single unit of global village where social and economic interactions among the people are based on interdependence. Globalisation is manifest in the rapid flow of information, capital and goods. Under globalisation, culture and societies that were hitherto distinct have come to face with each other. The world has become an inter-connected one. To be stated precisely, globalisation means freedom of trade and investment, creation of free trade areas, elimination of government control on allocation of resources in the domestic economy, progressive removal and restrictions on external trade and payments, expansion of foreign investments, loans and aid, and rapid technological progress. It also advocates a balanced budget, social security and welfare, and a diminished role for the state in economic management. In short, globalisation means the integration of world economy so that there could be a free flow of trade and capital and a great movement of persons of various nationalities across the borders. This was made possible by new advances in the field of communications and the development of high technology. Its chief features are mass production and mass consumption. Nearly 2 trillion dollars are exchanged in the world's currency market every day and more than 40 percent of goods and services produced in the whole world are now in trade.

The emergence of globalisation is a consequence of deliberate efforts of western liberal capital countries to bring the whole world under one market oriented economic order. Observers point out that the big multinational corporations or companies have been operating in all parts of the world for more than two decades. The production and distribution of goods took place globally through these corporations or companies (MNC). The net value of their sales in 2000-2002 amounted to more than 2 trillion dollars. The era of globalisation which gained impetus in 1990's has had the following effects—(a) trade is growing, (b) tariff, i.e., import-export duties are being lowered, (c) communication costs are going down, (d) foreign direct

investment in countries of Asia, Africa, and South America has increased considerably, and (e) the World Trade Organisation (WTO) reviews, monitors, and implements the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Accordingly, new developments in the field of communications and rising debts and declining productions in developing countries have helped the developed countries to put pressure on these countries through the international bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to integrate their economies with the market oriented world economy, make structural adjustments to accommodate the interests of the Multi-National Companies (MNC) and liberalised their own economies. Thus, a large number of developing countries due to their needs of development have sought to integrate increasingly with the world economy.

According to the United Nations study, the era of globalisation has expanded trade, brought in new technologies and foreign investments for developed nations. However, the picture of growth in the developing countries is not that rosy as it is portrayed. In brief, for the developing nations, the globalisation has meant more risks and lesser advantages. Privatisation has led to a loss of jobs and income inequalities. The rich are getting richer, the poor the poorer. Again, in developing nations, many people and organisations have been protesting against the WTO, and the international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF.

From the above discussion, it is clear that globalisation is a process through which the world is becoming closer and distanceless. As a result of this, national economies are diminishing and they are becoming part of the international economic system. India has become a part of this process and is trying to adapt itself to this new reality. At the same time, India has taken a number of initiatives at the international field to protect the interests of the developing countries with regard to trade negotiations, subsidies, and rights and responsibilities of different nations. It has accepted and implemented structural adjustment programmes, opened up its economy, and allowed foreign companies to operate. Both

scholars and political parties are deeply divided on the desirability and consequences of globalisation. Since globalisation is now a reality, the discussion on the desirability or otherwise of globalisation has now been replaced by discussion on the measures which can help the developing countries to derive more advantages from globalisation and minimise its disadvantages.

Q. What do you mean by terrorism? How would you classify terrorism?

Ans. Terrorism has now become a world-wide phenomena. Since Independence, India has been facing the problem of terrorism in different parts of the country. Terrorism means an armed violent movement directed against the government as well as non-government targets, involving pre-meditated attacks with arms, ammunition and explosives against civilians, and resorting to intimidation tactics such as hostage taking and hijacking, but not seeking territorial control. We can say that the term terrorism is attributed to the violent extremism which creates fear and panic all-round so that even the high and mighty also sometimes lose their nerve in the face of it.

Most terrorist groups differ according to their aims, motives, and ideologies, and on this basis a classification may be given.

(1) The nationalistic terrorism shares the goal of self-determination and reject the label of terrorist. Such groups are found virtually all over the world and include, for instance, the Irish Republican Army.

(2) Next is ideologies terrorism which aims to transform the social, economic and political system of the country in the light of their particular ideology. The glaring example is the Naxalites in India.

(3) The single issue terrorism is committed by individuals of small groups attempting to exert pressure on the public authorities (state) to concede some privilege to a large group with which the terrorists sympathise.

(4) In the state terrorism, the government itself uses of course illegitimately, violence on its citizens. This represents a deliberate strategy of domination, claiming as it does its right to deny rights to everyone. Some argue that more people have

been killed by state terrorism than by any other type of human conflict.

(5) The state sponsored terrorism is a special method of warfare in which a sovereign state uses surrogates to disrupt and create political instability in another country. This variety of terrorism obtains in Kashmir, the sponsor being Pakistan.

Q. Define terrorism. What are the different types of terrorism?

Ans. Terrorism means an armed violent movement directed against the government as well as non-government targets, involving pre-meditated attacks with arms, ammunition, and explosives against civilians, and resorting to intimidation tactics such as hostage taking and hijacking, but not seeking territorial control. We can say that the term terrorism is attributed to the violent extremism which creates fear and panic allround so that even the high and mighty also sometimes lose their nerve in the face of it.

Let us now explain in brief the different types of terrorism.

(a) **Nationalistic type** : The nationalistic terrorism shares the goal of self-determination and rejects the label of terrorist. Such groups are found virtually all over the world and include, for instance, the Irish Republican Party, the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

(b) **Ideologies type** : The ideologies type of terrorism aims to transform the social, economic, and political system of the country in the light of their particular ideology. The glaring example is the Naxalites in India.

(c) **The single issue type of terrorism** : The single issue terrorism is committed by individuals of small groups attempting to exert pressure on the public authorities to concede some privilege to a large group with which the terrorists sympathise. This group may include animal rights activists the Jewish Defence League.

(d) **Ethnic type** : The ethnic type of terrorism is mainly seen in Nagaland, Mizoram, and Manipur due to feelings of ethnic separateness.

(e) **Political type** : Political infighting and instability provide a suitable ground for the terrorists.

(f) **Socio-economic type** : Socio-economic conditions of rising unemployment, lack of opportunity to earn a living, growing awareness of inequality in distribution of wealth and well-being—these factors create a situation which encourages youth to join terrorist groups and others to support them.

(g) **The state type terrorism** : In the state type of terrorism, the government itself uses, of course illegitimately, violence on its citizens. This represents a deliberate strategy of domination, claiming as it does its right to deny rights to everyone. Some people argue that more people have been killed by state terrorism than by any other type of human conflict.

(h) **The state-sponsored type** : The state-sponsored type of terrorism is a special method of warfare in which a sovereign state uses surrogates to disrupt and creates political instability in another country. It may be called proxy war. This variety of terrorism obtains in Kashmir, the sponsor being Pakistan.

(i) **Religious type** : Some Sikh elements (in Punjab) belonging to different organisations took to terrorism to demand the creation of an independent state called Khalistan for the Sikhs. In Jammu and Kashmir, the muslims belonging to different organisations took to terrorism for conflicting objectives.

(j) **Eco-Political type** : Some people take to the gun because they feel that they have been economically exploited. In India, the Naxal terrorism largely belong to this type. In some cases, failure to get justice through lawful means hushes people in the lap of terrorist outfits. Again, some people or groups of people having political grievances or ambitions which they cannot get redressed through normal constitutional processes resort to terrorist methods as a short-cut to success.

Q. Discuss the role terrorism in International Relations.

Ans. In international relations, the terrorism has been defined as the calculated use of violence to attain goals political, religious or ideological in nature. This is done through intimidation, coercion or instilling fear. Terrorism involves a criminal act that is often symbolic in nature and intended to influence an audience beyond the immediate victims.

To-day, the menace of global terrorism can be seen at work in a very large number of countries. Sometimes a single terrorist

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To-day, the menace of global terrorism can be seen at work in a very large number of countries. Sometimes a single terrorist

action brings disastrous consequences to millions of people. In May, 1990 the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, was ruthlessly blown to pieces by a terrorist. More recently, we have had the terrorist assassination of Sri Lanka's President and later its foreign minister.

The much talked about global war against terrorism is one of the most cruel jokes of present time. It is ironical that Pakistan, the epicentre of international terrorism, is the greatest of U.S.A. fighting global terrorism. India has regularly been drawing attention of the U.S.A. and other countries to the atrocities committed by the terrorists, trained and funded by Pakistan but of no avail. Rightly said by some one that only the wearer knows where the shoes pinch. The U.S.A. realised the danger of terrorism only when the terrorists struck at its heart on 11th September, 2001 when the twin towers of the world Trade Centre (New York) were reduced to debris by suicide squads of terrorists. The U.S.A. that boasted of its super power status, military might and intelligence suddenly forced to realise its vulnerability. The military might and the world's most powerful intelligence agency CIA could no longer eliminate the fear the general Americans mind. Again in India, Mumbai witnessed an unprecedented terror strike by deafening explosions and fierce firing in several places in November, 2008.

The international community have become aware of the growing incidents of international terrorism and consequently of the need to initiate steps for meeting this danger. According to U.N.O., the measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardises fundamental freedoms and of the causes of these forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own in an attempt to effect radical changes. It has been observed that one of the causes behind the emergence of terrorism was the continuous suppression being faced by those people of Asia and Africa who were still reeling under the after effects of colonial regimes and suffering exploitation at the hands of alien master. Furthermore, the non-aligned group has defined the international terrorism as

acts of violence committed by a group of individuals which endanger human lives or jeopardise fundamental freedoms the effect of which are not confined to one state. In the last decade of the 20th century, the world witnessed a big increase in the acts of international terrorism. Several parts of the world became infested with the activities of some organised international terrorist groups. Religious terrorism, macro-terrorism, crossborder-terrorism, hostage taking air-jacking and in fact in several forms, international terrorism came to be a big menace. It started posing a grave threat to international peace and security. In 1994, the U.N.O. called upon the member countries to co-operate and co-ordinate their efforts for fighting the menace of international terrorism.

The problem posed by terrorism is that of achieving effective respect for the basic human rights of the members of one group by the violation of the basic human rights of another group. Even if one sympathises with a terrorist's cause, the sympathy is diluted on the realisation that the terrorist does not respect another human being's rights as a human being. The terrorist's violation of the people's right to live is the most serious violation because it attacks the fundamental right of all—the right to live.

We may suggest some measures to remove terrorism—

- The security forces must plunge themselves into action to curb terrorism; but its social, economic and cultural dimensions must also be attended to.
- An all out attack should be directed towards international terrorism. Attack on the terrorists should be swift all-round and with crippling effect.
- It has been proved that terrorism is to-day, actively encouraged by a foreign power and its eradication demands state-action on a wider front.

The terrorists motivation, strategy, and weapons have changed over the years. Criminals and druglords now commit crimes with impunity and then take shelter in a third country which is either unfriendly or has no extradition treaty with the affected country. The realities on the ground, however, do not inspire much optimism about success against our campaign

against terroris, if only because universally acceptable solutions will not be easy to find.

Q. Explain the meaning and objectives of NAM.

Ans. After the end of the Second World War saw a new international order not known to the world earlier. Some newly independent nation-states showed greater inclination to maintain their autonomy outside bloc politics. Prominent among these newly-independent developing countries was India, which rejected the idea of joining any bloc after the Second World War. Jawaharlal Nehru the first Prime Minister of India was opposed to militarism and preferred relying more on the age-old Indian traditions of non-violence and peaceful cooperation among nation-states. He was joined by Indonesian President Sukarno and Egyptian President Nasser, and they endeavoured to create a world free of bloc politics and military alignments. The NAM emerged and gathered strength in world politics after the Second World War.

Objectives of NAM : The leaders of 25 non-aligned countries met at the Belgrade conference in 1961 to create an independent path in world politics that would shield them from becoming pawns in the struggle between the major powers. The non-aligned countries based their decisions and activities.

(1) Peace and disarmament, especially the reduction of tensions between the major powers.

(2) Independence, including the right of self-determination of all colonial peoples and the right of equality between all races.

(3) Economic equality, with an emphasis on restructuring the existing international economic order, particularly with respect to the growing and persistent inequality between the rich and the poor nations.

(4) Cultural equality, with an emphasis on restructuring the world information and communication order, and opposing cultural imperialism and the western monopoly of information systems.

(5) Universalism and multilateralism through strong support for the United Nations system.

These objectives have been the underlying guidelines of the NAM.